

**ITALIC VOTIVE TERRACOTTA HEADS
FROM THE BRITISH MUSEUM: A
STYLISTIC APPRAISAL IN THEIR
RELIGIOUS AND HISTORICAL SETTINGS.**

Thesis presented for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the
University of London. 1994

SHEILA PATRICIA GIRARDON

Institute of Archaeology

University College London



ABSTRACT OF THE THESIS

The thesis aims to examine a collection of Italic votive terracotta heads, dated between the early 4th and the late 2nd centuries B.C., in the British Museum.

The study proposes a stylistic appraisal of the terracotta heads in their religious and historical settings divided into three parts.

The first part includes the introduction and five chapters.

In the first chapter is discussed the religious background: Greek healing gods, Italic and Roman healing cults and Aesculapios.

The second chapter is concerned with the religiousness of the Italic peoples: their devoutness; the cults; the practice of the *caput velatum*.

Chapter three deals with the notion of votive offering in the ancient world: the origin; in the Greek religious sphere; the votive offerings as an exchange, as substitution, as gifts; their place in the sanctuary; in the Italic religious sphere and their distribution on the Italian territory; the specialisation of sanctuaries; the anatomical ex-votos; miniaturisation of votives as substitution; fertility, puberty and well-being.

Chapter four deals with ancient medicine and the anatomical votives: the dawn of medical science; the evidence of the anatomical votives; medical interpretation of the votives; representation of diseased organs.

In chapter five are considered the sanctuary and the worshippers: the types of sanctuaries; the identification and location of sanctuaries; the evidence for healing cults; the votive deposits; the appearance and disappearance of anatomical votive terracottas; the historical background.

The second part includes three chapters.

Chapter six considers the various stylistic influences: in pre-Roman Etruria; in central and southern Italy; the Roman influence; copies of famous sculptures and their relationship with votive terracottas.

Chapter seven is a survey of the jewellery displayed on the female heads: crowns; diadems; earrings; necklaces.

Chapter eight is a survey of the hairstyles displayed on both female and male heads.

Chapter nine examines the technique of manufacture of the votive heads: the problems of mass-production; the workshops and the artisans; the specific heads in the British Museum.

The third part of this study includes an extensive catalogue of the female and male heads divided into groups according to their stylistic affinities. The catalogue is introduced by a section on the classification and terminology.

The thesis is concluded by a synopsis of the focal points of part one and two integrated by the observations on the groups of heads in the catalogue.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The examination and photograph of the terracotta votive heads in the British Museum was carried out with the kind permission of the Director of the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities. I am very grateful to Dr. Judith Swaddling of that Department for her help and support during the initial phase of my research.

My thanks are due to Dr Francesco Buranelli, Director of the Museo Gregoriano Etrusco at the Vatican in Rome, to Prof. J. Balty of the Musée Royal d'Art et d'Histoire in Brussels and to Miss Pat Wilkinson, of the Passmore Edwards Museum. Gratefully I also acknowledge the help from Mr. John Jefford.

I am indebted to my Supervisor at the Institute of Archaeology, University College London, Prof. John Wilkes and to Prof. Evans, former Director of the Institute, initially my supervisor until his retirement.

Particular thanks are due to Hans B. Feddersen for his invaluable help.

Above all the credit for the completion of this work rests with my father, sadly not here to witness this day, Silla M.H. Girardon, for always believing in me and for his unconditional support in every way, to whom this work is lovingly dedicated.

Per te Papà, con amore.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	<u>Page</u>
Abstract of the Thesis	2
Acknowledgements	4
Table of Contents	5
List of Illustrations	10
List of Tables	12
 Part 1	
Introduction	13
 Chapter 1: THE RELIGIOUS BACKGROUND	20
I The Greek healing gods	20
II Italic and Roman healing cults	30
III Aesculapios	43
 Chapter 2: THE RELIGIOUSNESS OF THE ITALIC PEOPLES	48
I Devoutness	48
II Cults	49
III Caput Velatum	52
 Chapter 3: THE NOTION OF VOTIVE OFFERING IN THE ANCIENT WORLD	54
I The origin	54
II In the Greek religious sphere	55

III	The votive offering as an exchange	56
IV	The votive offering as substitution	57
V	The votive offering as a gift	58
VI	The votive offering in the sanctuary	59
VII	The votive offering in the Italic sphere	60
VIII	Distribution of types on the Italic territory	61
IX	Specialisation of sanctuaries	62
X	The anatomical ex-votoes	63
XI	Miniaturisation as symbolic substitution	64
XII	Fertility, puberty and well-being	65
Chapter 4: ANCIENT MEDICINE AND THE ANATOMICAL VOTIVES		66
I	The dawn of medical science	66
II	The evidence of the anatomical votives	68
III	Medical interpretation of the anatomical votives	70
IV	Representations of diseased and healthy organs	72
Chapter 5: THE SANCTUARY AND THE WORSHIPPERS		80
I	Types of sanctuaries	80
II	Identification and location of sanctuaries	81
III	Evidence for healing cults	82
IV	The votive deposits	83
V	The appearance and disappearance of the anatomical votives	84
VI	The historical background	86

Part 2

Chapter 6: STYLISTIC INFLUENCES	90
I Pre-Roman Etruria	91
II In central and southern Italy	93
III Roman influence	97
IV Copies of famous sculpture and their relationship with terracottas	99
Chapter 7: JEWELLERY	103
I The jewellery types on the votive heads	103
II Jewellery in Greece	104
II The role of Tarentum	105
IV Terracotta imitations of jewellery	106
V Crown	107
VI Diadem	111
VII Earring	114
VIII Necklace	123
Chapter 8: HAIRSTYLE	130
I The Tutulus	130
II The hairstyle on the female heads	131
III The hairstyle on the male heads	147

Chapter 9: THE TECHNIQUE OF MANUFACTURE	158
--	------------

I The raw material	158
---------------------------	------------

II The stages of production	160
------------------------------------	------------

III The problems of mass-production	162
--	------------

IV Workshops and artisans	164
----------------------------------	------------

V The heads in the British Museum's collection	168
---	------------

Part 3

CLASSIFICATION AND KEY TO THE CATALOGUE	172
--	------------

FEMALE CATALOGUE	174
-------------------------	------------

Group 1	174
----------------	------------

Group 2	178
----------------	------------

Group 3	217
----------------	------------

Group 4	223
----------------	------------

Group 5	255
----------------	------------

Group 6	263
----------------	------------

Group 7	273
----------------	------------

Female Group Miscellaneous	277
-----------------------------------	------------

MALE CATALOGUE	290
Group 8	290
Group 9	298
Group 10	302
Group 11	311
Group 12	317
Group 13	322
Group 14	330
Group 15	336
Group 16	348
Group 17	358
Group 18	366
Group 19	367
Male Group Miscellaneous	372
 Synopsis	 382
 Index	 391
 Abbreviations and Periodicals	 397
 Bibliography	 400

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

	<u>Page</u>
DRAWINGS OF THE FEMALE HAIRSTYLES: DI-DXXVI	431
 FEMALE HEADS: Pl.1-42	 457
Group 1: Pls.1-2	457
Group 2: Pls.3-13	459
Group 3: Pls.14-17	470
Group 4: Pls.18-29	474
Group 5: Pls.30-32	486
Group 6: Pls.33-35	489
Group 7: Pls.36-37	492
Female Group Miscellaneous: Pls.38-42	494
 MALE HEADS: Pls.43-86	 499
Group 8: Pls.43-46	499
Group 9: Pl.47	503
Group 10: Pls.48-50	504
Group 11: Pls.51-53	507
Group 12: Pls.54-56	510
Group 13: Pls.57-60	513

Group 14: Pls.61-62	517
Group 15: Pls.63-67	519
Group 16: Pls.68-71	524
Group 17: Pls.72-77	528
Group 18: Pls.78-79	534
Group 19: Pls.80-81	536
Male Group Miscellaneous: Pls.82-86	538
 FIGURES 1-15	 543
Figure 1 Canopic head vase	543
Figure 2 Head MM1	544
Figure 3 Male head from the lid of the "Chianciano Sarcophagus"	545
Figure 4 Bronze head in the Collezione Carpegna, Museo Profano della Biblioteca Vaticana	546
Figure 5 Marble head from Tarentum	547
Figure 6 Terracotta head from Tarentum	548
Figure 7 Terracotta head from Tarentum	549
Figure 8 Terracotta head from Tarentum	550
Figure 9 Marble herm of Korinna at Astor Cliveden Hill.	551
Figure 10 Herm of Demetrios Poliorketes in the Naples National Museum	552
Figure 11 Apulian krater with human head applique in the Louvre	553
Figure 12 Apulian head vase in the British Museum	554

Figure 13	Marble herm of Alexander in the Greco-Roman Museum at Alexandria	555
Figure 14	Head of Alexander in Dresden called the "Dressel Alexander"	556
Figure 15	15th century wood-cut print of St. Antony showing suspended votive models of parts of body, babies and animals at the Shrine of the Saint, Ashmolean Museum, Oxford	557

LIST OF TABLES

		<u>Page</u>
Table 1	Development of types of Group 4	558
Table 2	Development of Group 4	559
Table 3	Reproduction of Ciaghi's table XVI.	560
Table 4	Reproduction of Ciaghi's table XVII	561

INTRODUCTION

The British Museum holds a remarkable collection of Italic votive terracottas, anatomical parts and heads. This collection has been partly studied and published by J.Turfa¹.

In the British Museum collection are present some of the major votive types:

Anatomical²:

• feet	6
• intestines	1
• eyes	14
• bladder ?	
• ears	2
• uteri	9
• breasts	2
• male genitals	36
• polyvisceral	1
• other	5

¹ Turfa 1986, pp.205-213.

² In this collection examples of arms, legs, hearts and female external genitals are lacking, all otherwise commonly dedicated in sanctuaries. The absence of these categories is not significant here but rather fortuitous, as the British Museum's collection is not the product of systematic archaeological excavation but the result of collecting by various individuals over a long period of time.

Heads:

• children	5	
• male heads	49	(of which 4 with shoulders and 3 possible statues)
• female heads	37	(of which 2 with shoulders and 3 possible statues)
• half female heads	5	
• half male heads	4	
• female small heads	18	
• male small heads	1	

The total of veiled female heads is 36; the total of male veiled heads is 13.

Only the heads have been considered as the topic of this study. The provenance of the vast majority of the heads is unknown, some are part of major museum's collections like the Campanari, but for the rest little information is available. The locality of origin is always omitted, more than likely not known at the time of acquisition. The source of this material must largely have been the extensive destructive and dispersive digging carried out in central Italy in the 18th and 19th centuries, of which no record survives.

In the Italic sanctuaries, the presence of terracotta anatomical ex-votos is often of such scale to easily outnumber any other type of finds, except perhaps pottery. This category of humble objects has, in the past, being ignored and underestimated by archaeologists, both in the field and in museum collections. Large deposits of coroplastic votives excavated within sanctuaries, shrines and other sites of religious nature during the last century, were disregarded by the excavators. Only complete pieces were kept, the fragments often re-buried or rejected because considered of little artistic value.

The material collected during these early excavations was often only briefly recorded and catalogued, as a rule granted only a passing note in the excavation report. Large numbers of these objects, mostly heads and

anatomical parts were, in the 18th and 19th centuries, dispersed without proper recording and found their way into many European and American museums.

The collection of Italic votive terracotta heads in the British Museum is of outstanding importance and share poignant similarities with other major Museum collections, in particular with the large group in the Museo Gregoriano Etrusco at the Vatican.

Many famous English collectors have contributed to the collection in the British Museum: Witt (23 pieces), Balmore (17), Townley (11), Slone (8), Hamilton (8), Blacas (4). Fiftyfive pieces, including most of the finer heads, were bought from the famous Signor Campanari (the entire 1839 inventory).

Only twelve objects have a (dubious) provenance, but the list of donors and dealers suggests for a number of pieces strong links with sites known in south Etruria, Latium and Campania. Stylistic parallels also connect some pieces with sites well known from excavation. Scientific analyses of fabrics could be of assistance to identify the sources of the raw material. Typological analyses of some classes of votive material helps to clarify certain problems concerning the centres of production and the areas of distribution of the matrices, as only a few deposits can, so far, be securely dated by excavation records.

In spite of the huge number of these heads produced by some votive deposits, it is generally possible to identify the types occurring more frequently. Furthermore, amongst these types it is possible to identify heads produced from identical or similar matrix in several deposits.

The British Museum's votive heads show great range of variety, quality and style. Types appear in various permutations of Greek style (for example: F2h; F2lII; M8b; M16a), together with debased versions of the same and pieces which show the Italic roots of the craftsman. Some typologically Etruscan heads correspond well with examples in other media, such as bronze.

The existence of large numbers of terracottas of the same generation from a single matrix in many excavated sites, such as Veii and Capua, and the presence

of examples of the same generation at more than one site implies a rapid diffusion of artistic and economic influences. The common practice of adding details by hand or with extra mould, such as earrings (F2a; F2h), shows perhaps special commissioning (maybe the dedicant was unable to afford the same kind of jewellery in real life).

It is evident that in Etruria, as in the Greek world, the sanctuaries played a vital role in the propagation of artistic trends employing the best artists on the market, sometimes bringing in famous artists from other areas or even from abroad. The case of Vulca called in from Veii to work on the temple of Jupiter is well known at Rome, and that of the Greek artists Damophilos and Gorgasos probably called in from Regium in Magna Graecia³. The sanctuaries become therefore artistic and cultural training grounds, but also places where private wealth and power could be publicly displayed.

The votive head

The votive, heads, busts, and statues, can be considered portraits of a sort, but not in the modern sense of to word: they were intended to represent the offerer but not necessarily in his/her own physical features, it was sufficient to show the correct sex, maybe the age group, and the *pietas* by the presence of a veil over the head. When the offerer is a wealthier person we can see the interest for specific physical details or profusion of jewellery⁴.

The great majority of the votive heads from Italic sanctuaries, with a few exceptions in the Museo Gregoriano Etrusco collection, represent young people. It would seem natural that, within the sphere of healing and disease, with the exemption of fertility and child-birth, a number if not most, should be

³ Colonna G. "La Sicilia e il Tirreni nel V e IV secolo" *Kokalos* XXVI-XXVII, 1980-81, pp.162-165.

⁴ For example the wart on right cheek of M9a and the lavishly ornate F2a.

of older people perhaps more concerned with seeking good health from ailing and age related infirmities. It can not be a shortcoming in the archeological record, it must reflect a reality. Is it because the votive heads are generalized representations of the offerer ? But then why not have characterisations of the different age groups ? Or could it be that the heads are related to a specific group of individuals, male and female, not directly concerned with medical entreaties but more with propitiation at certain times in life, such as puberty or marriage?

We can trace the roots of this Italic form of "proto-portraiture" to the canopic urns in human form typical of the Chiusi region, the lids of which are shaped as human heads, as far back as the funerary art of the Etruscan Orientalizing period in the early 7th century B.C.⁵ These pots in human form contained the ashes of the deceased as the body had contained the life of the person, the religious significance is unmistakable.

The concept behind this practice is very ancient in central Italy, going back to the Villanovan custom of covering the cinerary urn with a pot in the shape of an helmet: the personal attribute or prerogative of the warrior. They were not shaped as human images, but the idea of the helmet transcended the human form, as the essence of the deceased, his most distinctive and important characteristic. The idea for the canopic urns must derive from the same concept.

The canopic urns of Chiusi had no counterparts either in Italy or Greece; however their influence on Etruscan and central Italic art, was very important. They are the first visible manifestation of the need for memorial portraits. Etruscan funerary art developed along this line which became, in subsequent

⁵ "Canopic" is a 19th century misnomer based on the superficial resemblance of the Etruscan objects to Egyptian stone urns used for storing the mummified viscera.

periods, a typically Etruscan concern, rooted in the Etruscan way of life, for the representation of actual men and women⁶.

This concept is taken one step forward in Etruscan art with the stone sarcophagi lids bearing the figure of the deceased. This type of sarcophagus spans a period of about 350 years from the end of the 5th century B.C. to the middle of the first century B.C. They were all intended as representations of the person entombed within the sarcophagus. The range, variety and quality of the stone sarcophagi is far superior to that of the terracotta votive heads, however even this class of objects sometime shows the rather crude and clumsy naïvety of popular art typical of the terracotta ex-votos.

The votive heads show, with a spirit of realism, a keen interest in the external aspects of personality and physical attributes. However, to interpret these objects as an attempt, even crude, at portraiture of some sort is subject to many reservations; first of all their mass production, the way they could be changed and adapted to be different according to the circumstances, for example the way in which the mould creating the head of a young man could be modified, with beard and wrinkles, to become an old man⁷. The prototype created in the workshop must have been abstract, befitting many purposes. Physical and specific likeness was intended and details were added afterwards to emphasise such individuality. But the model to which the artist was aiming must have been in his head, a totally abstract model, the product of an idea. The result was not a face existing in reality, but the product of many faces which could be suitable to represent many types of faces.

⁶ In Greece as well, ^{at} the end of the Orientalizing period, the need was felt for a change from the generic representation of the human image to something that would account for the differences between persons in visible forms. In Greek art the response to the demand for individualization was to create and represent stories of gods and heroes in human form. Painting and relief sculpture, became the first carriers of this developments. In statuary it was fully developed only much later, in the classical style of the 5th century B.C. By contrast, Etruscan art which was not like the Greek a literary art, achieved the transition from generic to specific representations in statuary first.

⁷ Hafner 1966-7, p.39, pl.10, nos.1-2; Kaschnitz-Weinberg 1926, pl.7, nos.1-2, pl.8, nos.1-2.

In consequence the same model is changed to suit the need of the moment, to accommodate a costumer. It shows good business practice, quick thinking and adaptability. One must not forget the cheap, popular generic nature of this craft, never intended to be art in the same way that other decorative and commemorative forms of sculpture were. Given the nature of this craft it is only natural that the workshops should make the most of their models and prototypes. Behind all this is a need to combine the religious requirement with realism and a taste for individuality. This desire to emphasise that different people are distinguished by different looks, created, by paradox, the concept of the typical portrait with the votive heads, suitable to all purposes designed to serve a number of people as satisfactory likeness of themselves.

Chapter 1

THE RELIGIOUS BACKGROUND

I The Greek healing gods

The terracotta ex-votos in the collection of the British Museum, replicas of parts of the human anatomy, are generally associated with sanctuaries of healing cults. Many of these cults are borrowed from Greece, but others are of ancient Italic origin¹.

It is mostly danger, sickness or sudden calamity which lead the faithful to the divine power; these are the occasions when the ancient Greek paid his vows or expressed his gratitude. Of particular relevance are the vows and dedications made in time of sickness, and certain divinities came to be regarded as especially powerful in this sphere. Scattered references in the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* make it clear that in the early period the Greeks believed that the deities sent disease and death upon mankind in anger and revenge: "It is by no means possible to avoid disease sent from Zeus; yet do you at least pray to your father, even unto King Poseidon"².

Apollo sent disease and death among men³ and Artemis inflicted disease, especially mental and nervous disorders, and death among women⁴. The chthonic deities caused madness, hysteria, epilepsy; the heroes, demons and the spirits of the dead were all potential agents in bringing illness among mankind.

¹ For the Greek sanctuaries it has recently been stated that: "It is generally rare in the Greek world to find types of votives dedicated exclusively to particular deities, and where votives can be said to reflect particular interests, these are more usually those of the dedicator than the recipient." Morgan C. 'The origins of pan-Hellenism' pp.18-22 in Marinatos-Hägg 1993, p.22.

² *Odyssey*, IX, 411-412.

³ *Iliad*, I, 50.

⁴ Gruppe 1906, pp.1273-1274.

Such beliefs are referred to in the Hippocratic treatise, "*de Morbo Sacro*"⁵. Poseidon, Ares, Herakles are all mentioned in Greek literature as causing disease; long illnesses are due to a hateful deity⁶, sudden illness is ascribed to Pan⁷ etc. Such calamities were thrust upon mankind by the gods in anger, revenge or punishment; but as they could be the cause of evil, so they also had the power to heal and protect the faithful.

Greek tradition and myths contain numerous instances of gods, heroes and heroines practising their healing faculties; here is a list of the better known healers, but others on occasions exercised curative powers for the sick and wounded:⁸

Asklepios	Hades	the Nymphs
Amphiaraos	Hekate	Orpheus
Amynos	Helios	Paian
Aphrodite	Hephaistos	Pan
Apollo	Hera	Persephone
Aristaios	Herakles	Poseidon
Artemis	Hermes	Prometheus
Athena	Heros Iatros	Rhea
Auxesia	Hygieia	Sabazios
Cybele	Isis	Sarapis
Damia	the Kabeiroi	Telesphoros

⁵ Adams 1886, p.337; Jayne 1925, p.223.

⁶ *Odyssey*, V, 395-396.

⁷ Euripides, *Medea*, 1170ff.

⁸ Jayne 1925, p.240.

Demeter	Kirke	Themis
Dionysos	Leto	Trophonios
Eileithyia	Maleates	Zeus
Epaphos	the Muses	Genetyllis

Asklepios, first mentioned in Homer as a "blameless physician"⁹, was considered the most powerful healing deity of the Greeks. The legend points to Thessaly as his place of origin; after death he became a hero, famed for his healing powers and a chthonian oracle¹⁰.

In the early days of the cult its shrines were located in recesses of the earth, mountain caves, grottoes, and were simple structures like those of other heroes, consisting essentially of a low altar at ground level, a stone with a hole for sacrifice, near some spring or stream of pure water for purification. As the worship developed temples were built, and the fame of the cult grew, attracting to the shrines more and more suppliants. With the improvement of communications and the roads system, to visit a shrine of repute became common practice, the shrines then became health-resorts and places of pleasure not unlike the more recent baths and spas. The sites of the Asklepieia were as a general rule, selected for their attractiveness, salubrity, pure air and water.

The sick who sought to be cured in the Asklepieia had to comply to the rite of incubation, sleeping for one or more nights within the sanctuary, in the *enkoimetérion*. During sleep the god was to appear and heal the invalid or suggest a cure. Inscriptions reporting miraculous cures provide detailed information about the sequence of events¹¹.

According to the legend, the sacred serpents were responsible for the selection of the places where the shrines were located, and the serpent, as the incarnation of the chthonian hero or god, was transferred when a sanctuary was to be

⁹ *Illiad*, IV, 194.

¹⁰ Jayne 1925, pp.240-303; Edelstein 1945; Rouse 1902, pp.192-194; Walton 1894.

¹¹ Edelstein 1945, p.194ff; Nilsson 1955, I, p.538ff, p.806ff.

established. One of them, intended for Kos, escaped from a ship on the shores of Lakonia and vanished in the ground at Epidauros Limera, which was then selected for a shrine¹².

The sacred serpent, sent as representation of Asklepios to stop a pestilence in Rome, disappeared from the ship sailing up the Tiber and was lost from sight on the Insula Sacra, where the Romans decided to build their temple to Aesculapius.

When a suppliant was healed, the thank-offering and payment became even more important than the preliminary propitiatory sacrifice. These offerings were made not only to Asklepios, but to the other deities represented by shrines within the precinct who were supposed to have contributed to the cure, including Telesphoros representing convalescence, and Hypnos and Oneiros, presiding over sleep and dreams, or incubation; it was also regarded as a duty and a precaution to make sacrifice to Hygieia¹³.

The offering could be money payments, but it appears that for the most part the patients discharged their debt or expressed their gratitude, with a great variety of gifts. If the payment required could not be made at the time, promises were accepted by the god, and these had to be fulfilled within the year (or the illness could return to them). The Asklepieia probably were the healing shrines that received the widest variety of anatomical ex-votos, as they received patients with all sorts of complaints.

The origins of the practice of dedicating replicas of parts of the human anatomy are relatively obscure. Although anatomical ex-votos are attested in Minoan contexts in Crete¹⁴, it is not until the 4th century B.C. that they become popular. The surge in popularity seems to be directly connected with the growth of the cult of Asklepios. Anatomical ex-votos are found, of course, also in the shrines of other healing gods, but never as numerous as at the Asklepieion: inventories of ex-votos from the temples of Asklepios compiled

¹² Pausanias, III, xxiii,7.

¹³ Jayne 1925, p.292.

¹⁴ Myres 1902-3, pp.374-375, plate.12.

between the mid-4th and late-3rd centuries B.C. list virtually every part of the human body¹⁵.

Women with the typical problems connected with fertility, pregnancy, childbirth, could also turn to Asklepios for help, but they generally preferred one of the deities who specialized in gynaecology, such as Artemis or Aphrodite. It is probable that a certain degree of differentiation may have developed, to the effect that different diseases were considered to be more successfully cured in different Asklepieia. Such a differentiation, which may also be observed among the saints of modern Greece, has in fact been suggested for the Asklepieia of Athens and Corinth, and the Amphiareion at Oropos¹⁶.

A comparison of the Athenian and Corinthian Asklepieia, with regard to the relative frequency of certain parts of the human body among the votives, seems relevant, since these are the two sanctuaries from which the greatest numbers of anatomical ex-votos in the Greek world are known to us. The Athenian Asklepios seems to have specialised as an oculist, as eyes are by far the most frequent votives¹⁷; in Corinth, Asklepios appears to have specialised in legs and feet¹⁸. However, these conclusions are only valid if we assume that the known votive offerings from these sanctuaries form a representative selection. Van Stratten, who has made a detailed study of the subject, is doubtful that this is true¹⁹.

The parts of the body dedicated by the patients give us only a general idea of the types of diseases from which they suffered. More specific information, in the form of realistically recognizable symptoms of the disease, is found in very few instances only²⁰. Most of the Corinth terracottas, like the Italic ones, were made in a mould, presumably the manufacturer kept a stock of standard types,

¹⁵ *IG*, II, 2, 1532-9.

¹⁶ Rouse 1902, p.212; Rocbuck 1951, p.114.

¹⁷ Van Stratten in Versnel 1981, pp.106, 108-109, nos.1.2-4, 1.25-1.31d.

¹⁸ Van Stratten in Versnel 1981, p.124, nos.15.77-114.

¹⁹ Van Stratten in Versnel 1981, p.150.

²⁰ Van Stratten 'Gifts for the Gods' in Versnel 1981, p.113, no.2.1; p.124, no.15.63; pp.129-130, no.30.3; p.138, no.46.1; p.139, no.48.1; p.140, no.50.12.

from which the dedicator could select the appropriate type. It is possible that some realistic details were added on to fit the individual cases, presumably painted.

Amphiaraos had faculties of seer and prophet, was skilled in divination and became renowned as a healing deity. At the Amphiareion healing was effected through dreams rather than by predictions of an oracle.

Aphrodite was the deity of bridal and married life, and a protectress of children. She is also regarded as a child-birth goddess²¹. Her association with healing is further attested by the fact that she shared an altar at Oropos with Athena the Healer and the daughters of Asklepios²².

Apollo was both a bringer and a preventer of disease. In his anger he sent pestilence and death among men²³, and those consumed by a disease were considered to be "Apollo struck" or "sun struck"²⁴, in his favourable mood he averted disease²⁵. It is not clear, however, if healing was part of his early cult.

Aristaios, son of Apollo and Kyrene, was one of the most benevolent heroes of ancient Greece. He was a protector of flocks and herds, and cultivated the soil, taught people how to cultivate the olive, and was a bee-keeper. Aristaios was also celebrated for his knowledge of the healing art, and he was considered to have stopped a plague at Keos²⁶.

Artemis was a preventer of evil and alleviated the suffering of humanity, yet she sent plagues among men by her arrows and caused mental and nervous disorders, and sudden and premature death among women was ascribed to her.

²¹ Farnell 1896-1909, II, pp.655-656.

²² *CLA*, VII, 136.

²³ *Iliad*, I, 45.

²⁴ Macrobius, *Saturnalia*, I, xvii, 15.

²⁵ Pausanias, I, iii, 4.

²⁶ Apollonios Rhodios, II, 522.

Women afflicted by certain diseases were called "Artemis struck" or "moon struck"²⁷.

As a healing divinity Artemis was able to cure the diseases which she inflicted, she knew the medical properties of plants and was skilled in their use; she had assisted her mother Leto in dressing the wounds of Aeneas²⁸.

As Artemis Thermia she was connected with the healing fountains at Mitylene²⁹, Kyzikos³⁰, and Rhodes³¹. In her medical aspect Artemis was, however, essentially a child-birth deity, to whom women brought their clothes as an offering when birth ended happily³², although Homer declares that she was dreaded by women in child-bed³³. She encouraged child-bearing, and Euripides says that Artemis Lochia would not regard with favour childless women³⁴. Artemis and Eileithyia were considered in charge of the actual process of birth, and Eileithyia was often regarded as a form of Artemis. Women in labour invoked her help, and many of her titles attest her obstetric functions and her interest in matters concerning the female sex³⁵.

References to Athena as a healer are somewhat vague, but there are evidences of her connection with the healing art. Just within the gate of the city of Athens stood the statue to the Healing Athena near those of Zeus and Mnemosyne³⁶, and at the entrance to the Acropolis, close to the images of Asklepios and Hygieia, was one to Athena Hygieia erected to her by Pericles because she had

²⁷ Macrobius, Saturnalia, I, xvii, 11.

²⁸ *Iliad*, V, 447-448.

²⁹ *CIG*, 2172.

³⁰ Aristides, I, 503 D.

³¹ *IG* I, xxiv, 4.

³² *Anthologia Palatina*, VI, 271.

³³ *Iliad*, XXI, 483ff.

³⁴ Euripides, *Supplikes*, 958.

³⁵ *CIG*, 1768; *CIG*, 3562; *CIG*, 1595.

³⁶ Pausanias, I, ii, 5.

healed a workman who had fallen during the building of the Propylaia³⁷. After the cult of Asklepios became popular in Athens, this aspect of Athena Hygieia appears to have faded, although a statue to Athena Hygieia, in the Athens Museum, was found at Epidauros. Effigies of Asklepios and Hygieia were grouped with that of Athena Alea in her temple at Tagea and attest her relation to health and healing³⁸, while as a healer she was worshipped at the Amphiareion at Oropos and was called Athena Paionia³⁹, an epithet used also in Athens⁴⁰. She was considered the guardian of eyesight, especially of children, and at Sparta she was called Athena ophthalmitis⁴¹.

Auxesia was an earth-goddess promoting the growth of crops. She was closely associated with Damia, and both were primarily local divinities of Epidauros. Later the pair was merged with Demeter-Kore, of whom they became mere epithets. From her original function of goddess of growth Auxesia became a deity of female labour at Epidauros and Aegina. Damia is almost always mentioned together with Auxesia, as goddesses of cornfields and child-birth. The worship of Damia spread also at Tarantum and Rome (Bona Dea), and perhaps in Campania⁴².

Demeter was goddess of soil, vegetation and fertility, the mother of Persephone, who, under the name of Kore, was worshipped with her. The healing functions of Demeter are seldom clearly defined, but she is known to be protectress of children at Athens (*kourotrophos*), skilled in the matters of the nursery, the treatment of eye diseases, and a minor child-birth deity.

Dionysos possessed some gifts of prophecy and healing, and his priests practiced healing by touch and dream-reading⁴³.

³⁷ See note no.8.

³⁸ Pausanias, VIII, xlvii, 1.

³⁹ Pausanias, I, xxxiv, 3.

⁴⁰ Farnell 1896-1909, I, p.317.

⁴¹ Pausanias, III, xviii, 2.

⁴² Gruppe 1906, p.370.

⁴³ Plutarch, *Questiones Symposiaca*, III,3.

Eileithyia was the chief of the three foremost deities of child-birth, the others being Hera and Artemis. The most ancient tradition represents her as an obstetrician, a divine midwife, and a marriage-goddess. She was at times identified with Artemis, and the two were frequently worshipped together. Originally there were probably a number of Eileithyai, child-birth deities of local cults, who were later united into a single divinity. Homer refers to them in the plural and speaks of the pains of a fresh wound "as when the sharp and piercing pang seizes a woman in labour, which the Eileithyiai, daughters of Hera, who preside over difficult child-birth, send forth"⁴⁴.

Eleithyia was closely related to Themis and the Themides, and early tradition associates her with the daughters of Themis, the Horai and Moirai, representing her as the companion of these divinities of birth and destiny, who span the thread of fate at the beginning of life and stood in the birth-chamber. Eileithyia had many sanctuaries throughout Greece, and according to Strabo she had shrines in Italy, one of which was at Pyrgi⁴⁵. With time, Eileithyia became identified with a variant form of herself, Eleutho, also a child-birth deity⁴⁶, who was also identified with the child-birth goddess Leukothea, who was later analogous to the Roman Iuno Lucina.

Epaphos healed by the touch and the laying-on of hands⁴⁷, assisted at child-birth. In this function his name is associated with Sabazios.

Genetyllis was a goddess of child-birth and a protectress of births, both as an independent deity and as a companion of Aphrodite, who later became Aphrodite-Genetyllis.

Hekate, a chthonic deity, had power on earth, in heaven, sea, and in the underworld; and to this is attributed the triple form in which she is sometimes represented, as Selene, Artemis and Persephone. She was credited for having

⁴⁴ *Illad*, XI, 270.

⁴⁵ Strabo, V, ii, 8.

⁴⁶ Farnell 1896-1909, III, p.81.

⁴⁷ Gruppe 1906, p.860.

control over life and death, and was closely associated to Artemis as a birth-goddess, and carried the torch of Eileithyia⁴⁸.

Helios could cause blindness as a punishment, but he also restored sight, as in the case of Orion⁴⁹, and his aid was implored by the blind Polymester⁵⁰; at Gytheion he was worshipped with Asklepios and Hygieia⁵¹.

Hera was especially entrusted with the affairs of women and of marriage. Goddess of fertility and child-birth, she helped women in labour sending them Eileitheyiai when the time had come. She also had the power of speeding or retarding birth.

Herakles was recognized as a healer, as referred by Hesiod⁵², and had an altar at the Amphiareion at Oropos with other healing deities. According to legend he settled at Kos where he was associated with Asklepios in the healing art. Hot springs were frequently dedicated to Herakles as he was renowned in healing as the deity of the hot sulphur springs at Thermopylai, a fashionable health resort⁵³, and at Aedeipsos, visited by Sulla for the cure of gout⁵⁴.

Hygieia was the guardian of health and the daughter of Asklepios, but she was not strictly a healing deity; she is identified with the Roman Salus in her capacity as a health-divinity. At the Asklepieion in Athens she was worshipped together with Asklepios, and at the Amphiareion at Oropos she had an altar.

The Nymphs were ruling over springs, wells, and streams which had medical properties, and they were credited with healing functions.

Rhea represented the earth-goddess of fertility and maternity, identified with Cybele; there is little trace of healing in her cult.

⁴⁸ Farnell 1896-1909, II, p.519.

⁴⁹ Apollodoros, I, 43.

⁵⁰ Euripides, *Hecuba*, 1067.

⁵¹ *CIG*, 1392.

⁵² Hesiod, *Theog.*, 527.

⁵³ Herodotos, VII, 176; Strabo, IX, iv, 13.

⁵⁴ Strabo, IX, iv, 2; Plutarch, *Sulla*, 26.

Themis was a birth-deity, receiving the epithet of Themis Eileithya.

Trophonios had the same attributes as Asklepios, but his healing functions never appear to have developed beyond a primitive stage and to have grown in importance as Asklepios.

Zeus as a healer generally delegated his powers to others for application, although the sick consulted his oracles and votive tablets and models of limbs dedicated to him have been found at Athens, and at Melos⁵⁵. The association of part of the altar at the Amphiareion at Oropos establishes his connection with healing there⁵⁶.

II Italic and Roman Healing cults

The list, presented here, includes the names of the chief deities concerned with the healing art in Rome and central Italy⁵⁷; some ancient local cults were absorbed and incorporated into a Romanised version, in other areas of Greek influence, Greek cults of healing persisted under Greek names.

Deities of general function

Angerona	Fecunditas	Picus
Angitia	Feronia	Salus/Hygeia
Anna Perenna	Fessona	Saturnus
Bona Dea	Fortuna	Silvanus
Caia Caecilia/	Hercules	Soranus
Tanaquil	Iupiter	Strenia

⁵⁵ *CLA*, III, 150-156.

⁵⁶ Pausanias, I, xxxiv, 3.

⁵⁷ Jayne 1925, p.415.

Ceres

Clitumnus

Liber

Tiberinus

Fascinus

Mars

Vacuna

Fauna/

Meditrina

Fatua/Fatuella

Minerva

Faunus

Neptunus

Fatuus/Fatuellus

Nortia

Child-birth deities

Carmentis/

Genita Mana

Natio/Nascio

Carmenta

Iuno/Iuno Lucina

Nixi dii

Comitia

Iuturna

Ops

Diana

Mater Matuta

Virbius

Egeria

Underworld deities

Carna

Dis

Lares

Proserpina

Deities of disease

Angina Cloacina

Febris

Mefitis

Scabies

Deities of the Greek pantheon

Adonis	Hygeia	Mithras
Aesculapius	Isis	Sabazius
Apollo	Magna Mater	Serapis

Angerona was regarded as another name for Angitia, and some believed that she was called Angerona because Romans, afflicted with the disease called *angina*, were cured after making vows to her⁵⁸, and she was invoked for relief from plagues⁵⁹.

Angitia was an ancient Italic divinity of healing, especially worshipped by the Marsians, skilled in the knowledge of the medical properties of plants and the discoverer of antidotes to poisons, a snake-charmer that could cure venomous bites. According to tradition, the centre of her cult was in the *Lucus Angitiae*, on the shores of lake Fucinus, which abounded with healing herbs⁶⁰, but after the conquest of the Marsians and neighbouring tribes by the Romans in 304 B.C., her cult lost in importance, though she continued to be worshipped by individuals⁶¹. Her name, which is probably connected etymologically with the Latin *indiges*, appears in two inscriptions from Sulmona⁶² and Turfo⁶³. Angitia may also be identical with the Oscan Anagtia Diiva.

Anna Perenna was an ancient Italic goddess, regarded as the giver of health and plenty, protectress of health and prosperity in adult life. However, her origin and identity are obscure.

⁵⁸ Macrobius, *Saturnalia*, I, 10.

⁵⁹ Wissowa 1912, p.241.

⁶⁰ Virgil, *Aeneid*, VII, 758-759.

⁶¹ Wissowa 1912, pp.49-50.

⁶² *CIL*, IX, 3074.

⁶³ *CIL*, ix, 3515.

Bona Dea was originally, probably, an earth-spirit who gave health and fortune. She developed under a variety of names absorbing the cults and names of other divinities⁶⁴. Bona Dea was essentially a deity of women, representing fertility, she was closely associated with Mater Matuta and of a nature similar to Iuno. The Greek Damia was identified with Bona Dea, and the priestesses of her cult were called *Damiatrix*. Bona Dea was a prophetic deity who practised healing; her main temple in Rome, on the Aventine, had an herbarium with medicinal herbs; the temples were cared by women and women carried out the rituals and ceremonies in which only women took part. The cures were not limited to the female sex, since inscriptions show that men were also treated⁶⁵. As a healer of the eyes she was called *Oculata Lucifera*, and of the ears *Bona Dea Aurita*⁶⁶. Bona Dea may also be the same as *Cubrar matrer* -good mother- of a short Umbrian inscription from Fossato di Vico⁶⁷.

Clitumnus, an Umbrian river-god and an oracle, had a sanctuary near a spring in a forest at the source of a stream of the same name⁶⁸. His cult flourished especially during the Empire, and many votive tablets have been found expressing the gratitude of those cured by him⁶⁹.

Fascinus was a Roman deity representing the phallus, identified with the Etruscan *Mutunus Tutunus*. His cult was similar to that of the Lares, while as a healing deity he protected the members of the family from illness and women until they had conceived.

Fauna was an ancient Italic deity described as wife, sister and daughter of Faunus, and a deity of women as Faunus was of men. Fauna personified the earth and its fertility, originally an agricultural and prophetic divinity, she granted health through her oracle; she was closely related to Mater Matuta and

⁶⁴ Fowler 1899, p.106.

⁶⁵ Fowler 1899, pp.103-104.

⁶⁶ *CIL* V, 759; VI, 68.

⁶⁷ Conway 1897, p.610; Bucheler 1883, p.173.

⁶⁸ Pliny, *Epist.*, VIII, 8.

⁶⁹ Wissowa 1912, p.224.

Ops, was identified with Tellus, Terra and the Greek Damia, but especially to Bona Dea, so that eventually she was regarded as the same.

Faunus an ancient Italic deity, identified with the ancient Tellumo and with the Greek Pan, appears in various aspects and under several names, probably assimilating different smaller local deities whose characters were similar to his.

He was regarded as dangerous for women and children, causing fright, panic and mental disorders. As a healing and prophetic deity he was very important. His most famous sanctuary was in a sacred grove at Tibur, where there was a sulphur spring: those seeking his counsel lay down on a sheep-skin, and the fumes from the spring caused hallucinations which were interpreted as the revelations of the god⁷⁰. Faunus also possessed a sacred grove on the Aventine and a temple was erected to him on the Insula Tiberina dedicated in 194 B.C.⁷¹.

Feronia was originally a deity of the Sabines and other central Italian non-Latin tribes. At Praeneste she was regarded as a deity of fertility and plenty; an inscription declares her to have been a nymph of springs in central Italy⁷². Feronia had her principal sanctuary in Etruria at Lucus Feroniae at the foot of Mount Soracte, which was attended by Sabines, Etruscans and Latins⁷³, becoming so rich that it was plundered by Hannibal in 211 B.C.⁷⁴. She had also a temple at Terracina and one at Trebula Mutuesca in the territory of the Sabines. After the conquest of Veii by Rome she became an official deity and was given a temple on the Campus Martius.

Fortuna was an ancient Italic goddess, originally a deity of women. An inscription to her at Praeneste is from a woman in gratitude for child-birth⁷⁵. The etymology of her name (latin *fero*: birth) confirms her prerogative. The principal centres of her earlier cult were at Antium and at Praeneste where she

⁷⁰ Vergil, *Aeneid*, VII, 81-91.

⁷¹ Livy, XXXIII, 42; XXXIV, 53.

⁷² Wissowa 1912, pp.285-286.

⁷³ Pliny *N.H.*, III,51; Vergil *Aeneid*, VII, 800; Strabo, V, ii, 9.

⁷⁴ Livy, XXVI, 11.

⁷⁵ *CIL*, XIV, 2863.

was known as Fortuna Primigenia. There she was protectress of mothers and expectant women. In Rome itself she had a temple on the bank of the Tiber, one in the Forum Boarium, and another dedicated to her as Fortuna Muliebris was located on the Via Latina. As Fortuna Primigenia a temple was erected for her on the Quirinal in 196 B.C.⁷⁶.

Fortuna was closely related to Mater Matuta, and she was identified with the Etruscan *Nortia*, under which name she was worshipped at Volsinii. Fortuna had many aspects and titles, as Fortuna Salutaris she was connected with health and healing⁷⁷.

Hercules was an old Italic divinity of men, and he was in charge of healing springs. Inscriptions and votive tablets dedicated to him for his cures have been found at such places⁷⁸. Hercules was also called *Salutaris* and *Salutifer*⁷⁹. He was identified with the Greek Herakles and was related to Silvanus⁸⁰.

Jupiter had broad general powers and many aspects which were indicated by his various names and forms of cults. He had a temple on the Insula Tiberina, erected in 196 B.C.⁸¹, where he appears as a healer with the epithet *Salutaris*⁸².

Mars, identified with the Greek Ares, was associated with health and healing, but as a protector rather than a healer; he was a seer and a prophet who diagnosed disease and suggested treatment.

Minerva was an ancient Falerian goddess, and the protectress of physicians. She was known as Minerva Medica and had a temple on the Palatine, in Rome, where she practised healing⁸³. Inscriptions found at the temple of Minerva

⁷⁶ Livy, XXIX, 36; XXXIV, 56.

⁷⁷ CIL, VI, 184, 201, 202; XIII, 2, 7994.

⁷⁸ Hopf 1904, p.38.

⁷⁹ CIL, VI, 237, 338.

⁸⁰ CIL, VI, 288, 293, 295-297, 309, 310.

⁸¹ Livy, XXXIV, 53.

⁸² CIL, XIII, 240.

⁸³ Gatti Lo Guzzo 1978.

Memor and Minerva Medica Cabardiacensis near Placentia indicate that there she prescribed medicines, healed diseases of the ear and restored hair⁸⁴.

Toward the close of the Republic the cult of Minerva was identified with that of Athena. However, outside Rome the cult of the Italic Minerva continued unchanged. It extended even to Britain, where figures of the goddess, now in Chester, have been found⁸⁵.

Salus was originally a Sabine divinity. She appears in the Roman pantheon as a personification of welfare of the State, and a temple to her as Salus Publica was erected in 302 B.C. on the Quirinal⁸⁶. It was only after the Greek Hygieia (latinised to Hygia) came to Rome that Salus, identified with her, became a divinity of health rather than welfare, and she was known afterward as Salus Hygia. Her functions later appear to be those of a goddess of health, but never those of a healing divinity⁸⁷.

Silvanus, like Faunus was thought to be dangerous to women and children. However, in some cases he was regarded as a healing deity and was occasionally associated with Hercules at healing springs⁸⁸.

The principal deities of child-birth in the Roman religion were Iuno Lucina and Diana, both divinities of women in the broadest sense, presiding over the functions and needs of their sex. Iuno Lucina was the more prominent and she extended her protection over children from birth to maturity.

The two goddesses had many assistants and deities of lower rank associated with the process of gestation and birth, some of whom had originally been independent deities and had retained their names, although their cults had become more or less assimilated by those of Iuno Lucina and Diana. Iuno

⁸⁴ *CIL* XI, 1292-1310; Thramer E. 'Health and gods of Healing' in *ERE*, VI, 554.

⁸⁵ Barnes 1913-1914, VII, p.80.

⁸⁶ Livy, IX, 43.

⁸⁷ For a comprehensive study on the significance of *salus* and Salus in the Roman world : Piccaluga G. 'Salvarsi ma non troppo' in Bianchi-Vermaseren 1982, pp.403-425; Le Glay M. 'Remarques sur la notion de Salus dans la religion romaine' in Bianchi-Vermaseren 1982, pp.427-441.

⁸⁸ *CIL*, VI, 288, 293, 295-297.

Lucina and Diana were identified with the Greek Eileithyia, under whose name they were frequently referred to. The functions connected with marriage, conception, gestation, birth and growing of children were subdivided meticulously and distributed among a large class of divinities, intended to supervise and protect each aspect of life, evolved or amalgamated with the functions of Iuno and Diana.

The following are a few examples of minor Roman functional deities and *numina*. They supervised some of the less prominent spheres of divine activity in the cults of Iuno Lucina and Diana, which prescribed subdivision of duties, especially in relation to conception, gestation, birth, and the care of the children from infancy to maturity:

Antevorta, Porrima, Prosa were practically identical and were invoked for easy delivery⁸⁹.

Averruncus was a deity who guarded women during delivery and afterwards from the assaults of Silvanus⁹⁰.

Decima, one of the Fates, guarded women during the tenth lunar month of pregnancy and determined the date of delivery⁹¹.

Februa was a goddess of purification who presided over the delivery of the after-birth and over purgation⁹².

Fluonia stopped the menses after conception and prevented haemorrhages during pregnancy⁹³.

Nona, one of the Fates, cooperated with Decima in determining the date of birth⁹⁴.

⁸⁹ Macrobius, *Saturnalia*, I, vii, 20; Ovid, *Fasti*, i, 633-636; Varro, apud Aulus Gellius, XVI, xvi, 4ff.

⁹⁰ Varro, *de Lingua Latina*, VII, v, 100; Aulus Gellius, V, xii.

⁹¹ Aulus Gellius, III, xvi, 10-11.

⁹² Festus, in Lindsay W.M. *Glossaria Latina IV* 1913, p.85.

⁹³ Paulus, in Lindsay op.cit.IV. 1913, p.92.

⁹⁴ Varro, apud Aulus Gellius, III, xvi, 10.; Tertullian, *de Anima*, 37,

Opigea had the functions of divine midwife aiding in child-birth in relation to the cult of Iuno Lucina⁹⁵.

Sentinus and Sentina gave the embryo sensation⁹⁶.

Vaginatus opened the mouth for the first cry and promoted breathing⁹⁷.

Alemona presided over the nutrition of the embryo and child⁹⁸.

Cunina protected the child in the cradle⁹⁹.

Fortuna barbata provided the growth of the beard for boys¹⁰⁰.

Ossipaga presided over the growth and hardening of the bones of the embryo and child¹⁰¹.

Parca was one of the Fates who determined the destiny of the child about one week after birth¹⁰².

Paventia guarded the child from terror and fright¹⁰³.

Potina presided over the child's drinking¹⁰⁴.

Statulinus, Statanus and Statina were divinities who taught the child to stand, walk etc.¹⁰⁵.

⁹⁵ Festus, in Lindsay op.cit. 1913, p.200.

⁹⁶ Tertullian, *ad Nationes*, II, 11; Augustine, *de Civitate Dei*, VII, 2-3.

⁹⁷ Varro, apud Aulus Gellius, XVI, xvii, 2.

⁹⁸ Tertullian, *de Anima*, 37.

⁹⁹ Varro, apud Nonius *De compendiosa doctrina* ed. Lindsay W.M. 1903, p.167.

¹⁰⁰ Augustine, *de Civitate Dei*, IV, 11.

¹⁰¹ Arnobius, *adversus Nationes*, IV, vii, 8.

¹⁰² Arnobius, *adversus Nationes*, IV, 85; Aulus Gellius, III, xvi, 9-11.

¹⁰³ Augustine, *de Civitate Dei*, IV, 11.

¹⁰⁴ Varro, apud Nonius, p.108; Donatus, *Terentii Phormionem*, I, i, 15.

¹⁰⁵ Varro, apud Nonius, p.532; Tertullian, *de Anima*, 39.

Carmentis was an ancient Italic deity, originally a nymph of spring and a healing divinity. Her most prominent characteristic was her influence over child-birth, but her functions were subordinate to those of Iuno Lucina and Diana¹⁰⁶.

Diana was originally an Italic deity of the wild, a spirit of the forest and vegetation, but later she was identified with the Greek Artemis. She was a divine protectress of women in all needs of their sex, and a child-birth deity. She had a large retinue of minor deities who presided over many subordinate functions of her activities, and whose names were often given to her: was called **Diana Sospita**, **Diana Nemorensis**, at Nemi she was **Diana Opifera** and **Diana Lucina**, where she was especially worshipped for women's diseases, successful deliveries and happy married life.

Her sanctuary at Nemi was famed for the healing waters. Diana was worshipped throughout Italy but the sanctuary at Nemi was the most famous. Women made pilgrimages to Nemi to implore the goddess to grant them children and easy delivery, and in the temple were many votives and anatomical donaria. Another famous shrine to Diana was near Capua where she was known as **Diana Tifatina**.

Iuno was originally the spirit of womanhood, the great tutelary deity of woman in all her functions and activities. In several of her functions, especially as **Iuno Lucina**, she was the chief divinity of child-birth, presiding over every aspect of the child's life until maturity. **Lucina** was Iuno's most frequent epithet¹⁰⁷, meaning 'light', and supposed to have been given to her because she brought children into the light¹⁰⁸. She was known at Lanuvium, one of the great sanctuaries of Latium where she also had a sacred grove, as **Iuno Sospita**¹⁰⁹.

Mater Matuta was an ancient Italic divinity of child-birth¹¹⁰, but she was surpassed in her obstetric functions by Iuno Lucina, for whom Matuta was

¹⁰⁶ Wissowa 1912, pp.330,336.

¹⁰⁷ Ovid, *Fasti*, II, 449-451.

¹⁰⁸ Jayne 1925, p.450.

¹⁰⁹ *CIL*, XIV, 2088.

¹¹⁰ Wissowa 1912, p.110.

occasionally used as an epithet. She was a deity of women and children like Carmentis, Fortuna and Bona Dea.

A temple dedicated to Mater Matuta was in the Forum Boarium from 396 B.C. The cult of Mater Matuta was widespread in central Italy, at Praeneste, Pyrgi¹¹¹, Satricum¹¹² and Cora.

Mephitis was an ancient Italic divinity personifying stench, who was invoked to protect from malarian fevers, she was reputed to cure those exposed to vapours from marshes and poisonous gases from springs and earth. Her most famous sanctuary was in the valley of Ansanto¹¹³, in the land of the Hirpinii, where the sulphuric gasses from the earth were believed to be the breath of Pluto, while nearby was a bubbling pool giving off carbonic acid gas in such quantities as to be deadly when raised above the ground by the wind¹¹⁴. Mefitis appears to have originated in central Italy, but her cult may be traced from Lucania to the Po valley into Gaul¹¹⁵.

Febris was an ancient *numen* personifying fever, and was supposed to cause such fevers (sent in punishment) and also to heal the disease. Later Febris was called Dea Tertianus and Dea Quartana, clearly referring to malaria, and inscriptions show that these deities were worshipped as the disease itself¹¹⁶ and were directly appealed to as being able to heal by destroying the fever¹¹⁷.

Febris, regarded as a well disposed mediator between man and the gods, was a popular deity and had three temples in Rome itself, on the Palatine, Esquiline and Quirinal¹¹⁸ in which *remedia* (amulets?) which had proved efficacious were placed.

¹¹¹ *Santuari d'Etruria* 1985, pp.127-130.

¹¹² Fenelli 1975, pp.247-248.

¹¹³ Bottini-Isnghi Colazzo-Rainini 1976, pp.358-524.

¹¹⁴ Pliny *N.H.*, II, 108.

¹¹⁵ Wissowa 1912, p.246.

¹¹⁶ *CIL*, VII, 999; XII, 3129.

¹¹⁷ Wissowa 1912, p.245.

¹¹⁸ Valerius Maximus, II, v, 6.

Apollo was initially adopted from Greece into the Roman pantheon as an averter of pestilence and later as a healer. The cult reached central Italy from Magna Graecia at such an early date that he was almost considered an indigenous Italic divinity. He is traditionally associated with the Sybil of Cumae, which is believed to be his first home on Italic soil¹¹⁹. Apollo was identified by the Etruscans sometime with Soranus and sometime with *Aplu*, and in Rome a temple to Apollo Medicus was dedicated in 431 B.C. outside the *pomerium* in the Flaminian Field (porta Carmentalis)¹²⁰. Later the cult of Apollo as a divine healer grew stronger¹²¹ and he was often petitioned during calamities such as plague¹²². Apollo had taken over a large share of the functions of the old local deities as healer, but in turn he was to be overshadowed by the arrival of Aesculapius, when his cult declined to be revived later in the reign of Augustus. The cult of Apollo, essentially in its healing aspect, extended to the Latin provinces, where was sometime worshipped with Diana and was often associated with Aesculapius¹²³.

Isis was the most popular deity of the Egyptian pantheon, the cult, united to that of Serapis, spread to the majority of the Mediterranean countries, became popular in Greece and was brought to Magna Graecia, established at Puteoli and Pompeii¹²⁴, from where it reached Rome and the Latin provinces during the time of Sulla¹²⁵. Isis and Serapis had many of the attributes of Demeter and Dionysos, and at first the cult was essentially a popular movement opposed by the authorities and official clergy¹²⁶, attracting support mostly from the poorer classes.

¹¹⁹ Wissowa 1912, p.293.

¹²⁰ Livy, IV, 25,29.

¹²¹ Wissowa 1912, p.294.

¹²² Livy, V,13.

¹²³ *CIL*, III, 2004; XIII, 6621.

¹²⁴ Wissowa 1912, pp.351-359.

¹²⁵ Apuleius, *Metamorphoses*, I, 3.

¹²⁶ Cumont 1911, p.81.

The healing functions of Isis were the same as those of Serapis, except that she was particularly concerned with women as goddess of love, fertility and healing¹²⁷.

Magna Mater, the great Asiatic Mother-Goddess, was, as a Hellenic divinity, formally received at Rome in 204 B.C. during the second Punic War as a deliverer when the State was threatened and the people believed they had attracted the hatred of some deity¹²⁸. She immediately succeeded in driving Hannibal out of Italy and the crops recovered and was then admitted to State worship with a temple on the Palatine dedicated in 191 B.C. Magna Mater representing the universal idea of Mother-Goddess was merged with Mater Matute in her obstetric functions, as healing was a prominent feature of her cult.

Sabazius originally a Thracian or Phrygian deity of a nature similar to Dionysos, came to Rome through Greece and was often associated with Iupiter as Iupiter Sabazius. Although it was said to have been known in Rome during the Republic, there is no evidence for it, and the cult only really gained popularity in Rome and Italy early in the 1st century A.D.¹²⁹; the cult was associated to that of Magna Mater and was eventually absorbed by it.

Sabazius was essentially a healing deity, and healing by the laying-on of hands was common in his cult: the right hand of the god placed on the belly of a woman assisted child-birth, and the symbol of the god's hand with three fingers outstretched was used for blessing and protection. It was customary for women who had been assisted by Sabazius in delivery to dedicate votive hands (usually in bronze) making the *benedictio Latina* and adorned with numerous cult symbols, in gratitude, supposed to represent the healing hand of Sabazius¹³⁰.

Serapis was a prominent divinity of the later Egyptian pantheon who was joined to Isis in worship. The cult had gained fame for cures at Alexandria and

¹²⁷ Diodoros, I, 25.

¹²⁸ Ovid, *Fasti*, IV, 255ff.; Livy, XXIX, 10, 14.

¹²⁹ Wissowa 1912, p.376.

¹³⁰ Weinreich 1909, pp.16,18,28; Scullard H.H. edit. Oxford Classical Dictionary. Oxford 1970, p.941; Blinkengerg C. in *Archäologische Studien* 1904, pp.67-100; Hill D.K. *Essays in the memory of K.Lehmann*. 1964, p.132ff; Jashemski 1979, pp.135-137, fig.215.

had reached Rome thanks to the success it had won in Greece. Serapis was famed as a healer and his cult methods were very much like those of Asklepios which had been adopted at Alexandria¹³¹. The walls of the temples of Isis and Serapis were adorned by numerous votive tablets, inscriptions and anatomical models, many of male and female genital organs¹³².

III Aesculapius

The cult of Aesculapius in Rome demonstrates better than any other the adaptation of the Hellenic healing cults into Italy, because the popularity of his cult, as well as his sanctuary on the Isola Tiberina, an excellent example of continuity of cult into Christianity up to present-day.

The cult of Asklepios was introduced into Rome at the beginning of the 3rd century B.C., on the occasion of an epidemic that was ravaging the city¹³³. All the ancient sources agree on the manner in which the cult was brought to Rome: in 293 B.C.¹³⁴ a terrible pestilence was afflicting Rome and the country, the Sybilline Books were consulted and the response was to send for Asklepios from Epidauros. The Consuls, being occupied in a war with the Samnites postponed the matter¹³⁵ ordering instead a day of *supplicatio* to Asklepios. It was not until the following year that a delegation of ten, headed by Q.Ogulnius, was sent to Epidauros to invite the god to Rome. There a most favourable omen for the Romans occurred: the god appeared at the temple in his serpent form, descended to the beach and spontaneously boarded the Roman trireme¹³⁶. Arriving back to Rome, sailing up the Tiber in proximity of the Navalia, suddenly the serpent left the ship and disappeared in the reeds of the Insula

¹³¹ Wissowa 1912, pp.351-359.

¹³² Buret F. 'La Médecine chez les Romains avant l'ère chrétienne', in *Janus* 1896, I, p.522.

¹³³ Livy, X, 47, 6-7; Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, XV, vv, 622-744; Valerius Maximus, I, viii, 2; Pliny *N.H.*, XXIX, 16; Torelli 1978, pp.27-35.

¹³⁴ Livy, X, 47, 6.

¹³⁵ Livy, X, 47, 7.

¹³⁶ On the serpent as representation of Asklepios: Mitropolou 1977, pp.183ff.

Tiberina¹³⁷. The epidemic ceased instantly and the island, as the god had clearly indicated his choice, was selected as the site of his temple, which was dedicated in 291 B.C.¹³⁸.

The choice of the island, in reality, was probably determined by several factors: the *extra pomerium* position, unthinkable at that time for a foreign cult to be accepted within the city¹³⁹, and the seclusion from the residential areas, typical of the Asklepieia that functioned as actual medical centers, a function which the island still retains today. The presence on the island of a spring and abundant water supply, indispensable element for the medical role of the cult, was also an important factor in the choice of the site. The ancient spring can be identified with the medieval well in the church of S.Bartolomeo (first erected in the 12th century and rebuilt in the 17th century) witnessing the continuity between the pagan and Christian place of worship, a continuity also reflected by the analogous healing properties of Aesculapius and the Saints worshipped on the island¹⁴⁰. For the last twenty-two centuries the Isola Tiberina has been an *Insula sacra* for the sick of Rome, in 1000 A.D. the Emperor Otto erected a hospital on the foundations of the ancient temple and from that time on the island and the hospital have borne the name of San Bartolomeo.

A different suggestion for the choice of the island has been made by Le Gall. He argues that the island was the site of the archaic cult of Tiberinus, the river personification, a deity also possessing healing faculties. When Asklepios was brought to Rome it was natural to install the temple where a similar cult already existed¹⁴¹. He also suggests that the numerous terracotta ex-votos retrieved in the river and on the banks in proximity of the island, traditionally ascribed to the Asklepieion, should be regarded as votive offerings to Tiberinus. However, neither the ancient sources nor the archaeological evidence seem to support this theory.

¹³⁷ Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, XV, 743; Livy, *Epitome*, XI; Valerius Maximus, I, viii, 2.

¹³⁸ Besnier 1871, p.197.

¹³⁹ Schilling R. 'Le temple de Vénus Capitoline et la tradition pomériale' in *RevPh* XXIII, 1949, pp.27ff.

¹⁴⁰ Guarducci M. 'L'isola Tiberina e la sua tradizione ospitaliera' in *RdLinc* XXVI, 1971, pp.280ff.

¹⁴¹ Le Gall 1953, pp.67ff, p.102ff.

In Rome, Asklepios was re-named Aesculapius or Aescolapius, and it is believed that this form, derived from the Greek Asklapios, a form obsolete in Epidauros by at least hundred and fifty years, shows how the name of the god must have been known in Rome since at least the 4th century B.C.¹⁴²

The introduction of the cult of Aesculapius into Rome seems to be determined by a precise political design: to send for the first time an official delegation to a Greek city, and particularly to a member of the Hellenic League, Epidauros, with whom Rome had very friendly relations¹⁴³. In this way it is probable that the delegation was welcomed favourably at Epidauros, as Valerius Maximus attests¹⁴⁴. To testify the importance of the mission is the presence of Q.Ogulnius, a most important political figure of the time. He was tribune of the plebs in 300 B.C. with his brother Gnaeus. He was the promoter of the *lex Ogulnia*, despite the opposition of patricians and of Appius Claudius, by which plebeians became eligible for the highest priesthood, and gained the majority in the college of augurs. The *lex Ogulnia* was passed in 296 B.C. when the Ogulnii were aediles. In 273 B.C. Q.Ogulius was a member of the diplomatic mission to the court of Ptolemy II Philadelphus¹⁴⁵. It is very likely that the *gens* plebeian of the Ogulnii were of Etruscan origin, probably from the Chiusi region where names such as *Oculnius*, *Oglinia*, *Uclnial*, occurred not infrequently¹⁴⁶. The Ogulnii were politically allied with the patrician *gens* of the Fabii; such political groups were promoter of the Roman expansion to the center and north, to the advantage of the small landed classes¹⁴⁷, the same group of society that, particularly from the 3rd century onward, is to boost the popularity of the anatomical terracotta ex-votos in so many central Italian sanctuaries.

¹⁴² Latte 1960, pp.225, note.3.

¹⁴³ De Sanctis 1953, IV,2, p.267; on the Hellenic League: Will 1979, I, pp.77-79 (and bibliography).

¹⁴⁴ Valerius Maximus, I, viii, 2.

¹⁴⁵ On Q.Ogulnius: Münzer 1940, pp.83-89.

¹⁴⁶ Schulze 1904, pp.150ff.; Dulière 1979, p.51; Harris 1971, p.145.

¹⁴⁷ Cassola 1962, pp.148-151; Sordi 1960, p.76; Harris 1971, p.18.

As in Greece, Aesculapius seems to have become increasingly popular, so that by the first decade of the 3rd century B.C. it was natural in Rome to make appeal to him¹⁴⁸. Regardless of the preeminent position that the healing cult of Aesculapius had assumed among the middle and lower classes, writers of the late Republican period have little to say about the god and his cult, and it is believed that it played a modest role in State religion.

The continuity of occupation of the *Isola Tiberina* have caused the almost complete disappearance of the ancient building structures, in particular those of the Republican sanctuary of Aesculapius, the few surviving remains of pre-Christian age are from Imperial times¹⁴⁹. The cult of Aesculapius is attested, during the Republican period, only by a few inscriptions on four calcar bases for small votives. Three of these are now in the Antiquarium of the Museo Nazionale Romano, one is lost¹⁵⁰.

Those who appealed to the god during the Republic were, for the most part, the humbler class of citizens and the slaves, and it may not be a coincidence that the promoter of the cult into Rome had been a champion of the *plebs*. It is from this social group that the most distinctive evidence for the cult has survived: the terracotta ex-votos. A great number of these objects was retrieved last century from the Tiber, during restructuring works to the river banks¹⁵¹. The largest group (almost 500 pieces) was found in the proximity of the Isola Tiberina. A deposit by the *Pons Fabricius* of 352 pieces, consisting mostly of anatomical ex-votos clearly related to a healing cult, including three items reproducing open human torsos showing the internal organs¹⁵². These

¹⁴⁸ Macrobius *Saturnalia*, I, 17, 14-16.

¹⁴⁹ Besnier 1902, pp.185ff.

¹⁵⁰ Base of L.Albanus (inv.no.27249): *CIL*, vi, 30842; *CIL*, i, 26; *ILLRP*, 36. Base of M.Populicio(s) (inv.no.27259bis), *CIL*, vi, 30845; *CIL*, i, 28; *ILLRP*, 35. Base of uncertain dedicant (inv.no.27764); *CIL*, vi, 30846; *CIL*, i, 29; *ILLRP*, 37. Base of C.Bruttius (lost): *CIL*, vi, 30843; *CIL*, i, 27; *ILLRP*, 38.

¹⁵¹ Pensabene 1980, pp.5-15, pls.1-2, fig.1.

¹⁵² Pensabene 1980, nos.581-583, pls.96-97; Sambon 1895, pp.146, 216 (L.Sambon was also the alleged possessor of the votive base carrying the inscription of C.Bruttius now lost).

objects, dated between the 4th and the late 2nd centuries B.C., are attributed to the nearby sanctuary of Aesculapius¹⁵³.

Only a renowned and popular cult, such as that of Aesculapius, can justify the considerable number of ex-votos recovered. It is not surprising that the votive deposits were not on the Isola Tiberina itself, given the limited space available for the Asklepieion on the tiny island.

The cult of Aesculapius in Rome seems to have been at its height in the 3rd century B.C., probably favoured by the political groups that motivated the introduction of the cult into Rome. This can be inferred by the scanty information available and the archaeological evidence, mainly the small bases with inscriptions above mentioned and the terracotta ex-votos. In the 2nd and 1st centuries B.C., the total lack of coinage carrying the image and name of Aesculapius and of votive inscriptions must be interpreted as a declining phase of the cult popularity, to be revived later in the Imperial age.

Little is known of the actual cult practiced in the sanctuary on the Isola Tiberina. However, they must have differed little from those of the Greek Asklepieia, in particular of Epidauros where the medical cult is well attested, consisting of ritual purification and fasting, sacrifice, incubation, magic formulas and the use of rational remedial measures with a general hygienic regime¹⁵⁴. There remains no direct evidence for the practice of *incubation* during the earlier centuries of the cult in Rome, but there is no doubt that it was practice there as in Greece¹⁵⁵.

¹⁵³ Pensabene 1980, pp.17-20.

¹⁵⁴ Valerius Maximus, I, viii, 2; Festus, 268 L.

¹⁵⁵ Edelstein 1945, II, pp.139ff.; Rossi 1980, pp.188-190: on the continuity of the practice of incubation in Christian sanctuaries, especially in Abruzzo.

Chapter 2

THE RELIGIOUSNESS OF THE ITALIC PEOPLES

I Devoutness

Votive deposits have been retrieved over a wide area inhabited by different Italic population with different customs and languages. However, it is known from literary sources, epigraphical evidence and from the study and comparisons of cults, that in the religious sphere the Italic peoples shared many beliefs¹. Furthermore, they had in common a profound devoutness that permeated every aspect of life.

Livy's portrayal of the Etruscans as "*gens ante omnes alias eo magis dedita religionibus quod excelleret arte colendi eas*"² is famous, but similar religious fastidiousness can be found amongst the Latin people in Latium and particularly in Rome.

A complex concept of correlation between human activities and divine activities, not dissimilar to that shared by Etruscans and Latins, is also central to the Samnite religion³. The Samnites were considered the descendants of the Sabines, famed for their punctiliousness in religious matters⁴ and regarded the religious people *par excellence*. According to tradition, archaic Rome had obtained many of its deities from the Sabine king Numa⁵. Etruscan religion was also believed, with good reason, to have had a strong influence on the official religion of Rome, but there can be little doubt that the Sabines, given their reputation, also played a role in the evolution of Roman religion.

¹ Latte 1960, p.4; Salmon 1985, p.155.

² Livy, V, I.6.

³ Salmon 1985, pp.155-180.

⁴ It was even suggested that their name derived from the Greek verb for "worship": Pliny *NII*, III, 108.

⁵ Varro *De lingua Latina* V, 73.

II Cults

All the Italic peoples shared certain religious doctrines⁶. All Italic deities were highly specialized in their "functions", particularly the female ones connected with fertility and childbirth. The practice of religious-propitiatory healing by way of offering anatomical ex-votos was widespread. The basic religious concepts were not the monopoly of one particular ethnic group within Italy, but since archaic times common to all, explaining the fundamental affinities between the various groups.

A testimony of the affinity of cults in Central Italian areas is offered by the sanctuary at Fregelle, a Latin colony territory and site of massive Samnite migration⁷. The main place of worship at Fregelle gained such fame to out-live the destruction of the city by the Romans in 125 B.C.⁸

The concentration of dumps of votive terracottas in Italy is remarkable. The healing sanctuaries, where these deposits are mostly found, cluster most densely in central and southern Etruria and Latium, especially within the environs of Rome. In part this distribution can be explained geologically, for many sites are placed within the blanket of volcanic rocks, rich in mineral springs, that cover much of the west side of Italy, the perfect location for sanctuaries of healing cults. However, there are many volcanic regions, for example in Sicily, where votive deposits are not numerous, suggesting that this tradition was more deep-rooted in the Italic-Roman world than in the Greek sphere.

General works on the distribution patterns of votive materials in Italy have been carried out by Maria Fenelli⁹ and Anna Maria Comella¹⁰. The work by Comella

⁶ Livy is quite explicit in this respect, for example on the matter of the *Lex Sacrata* common to Samnites and Romans: Livy, X, 38.3-13; Pliny *NH*, XXXIV, 43; Equii and Vosci: Livy, IV, 26.3; known to Etruscans and Ligurians: Livy IX 39.5; XXXVI 38.I; and concerning devotion, not as a Roman concept but as an Italic institution: Livy, VIII, 10.11-14; Bouché-Leclercq A. in *Daremberg-Saglio*, II, pp.114, 117; Salmon 1985, p.157.

⁷ Coarelli 1986, pp.7-10.

⁸ Strabo V, 3.10; Salmon 1985, pp.156, 237, 243, 246-47.

⁹ Fenelli 1975, pp.206-252.

shows that votive deposits have different characteristics in different parts of the Italian peninsula¹¹. The votive deposits of "*Etrusco-Laziale-Campano*" type are found mainly along the Tyrrhenian coast of central Italy. They include mostly ex-votos in terracotta: statues, heads, figurines, anatomical replicas and a few bronzes. The votive deposits in the northern part of central Italy and along the Adriatic coast include mainly small bronzes representing the offerer or the divinity but rarely anatomical models. The votive deposits of southern Italy and Sicily include mostly terracottas figurines and other small terracottas but not anatomical models.

Comella suggests two distinct types of cults: one concerned with *sanatio* and general health, often practised in rural areas, and one concerned with fertility, more frequently encountered in the cities (Gravisca, Veii)¹². Goddesses with chthonic characteristics, like Minerva at the sanctuary at Punta delle Vipere (Santa Marinella)¹³, Uni/Hera at the sanctuary at Pyrgi¹⁴ and Cerveteri Tempio del Manganello¹⁵, Diana Tifatina (connected with water and springs) and Mater Matuta at Capua and Satricum¹⁶, also received requests for healing. The chthonic cults at other sites such as Ghiaccio Forte, Ariccia, Anagni, Lucera and Pratica di Mare seem to link Demeter/Ceres with healing, perhaps as a development of her fertility aspect.

In some Etruscan and Latin sanctuaries Ceres-Vei receives figurines of herself together with those of infants and children as Demeter and Kore do in Greek contexts at Corinth and Selinus. This connection is also found in the necropolis

¹⁰ Comella 1981, pp.717-803.

¹¹ Comella 1981, p.758 and tables.

¹² Comella 1980, p.762. Comella justifies this assumption on the higher number of sexual organs (uteri and male genitalia) present in the urban deposits. However, the presence of these ex-votos can be accountable also to sexually transmitted diseases, a type of affliction more widespread amongst city dwellers than rural communities.

¹³ Torelli 1967, pp.331-352.

¹⁴ Colonna 1966, pp.269-278; Pallottino 1969, pp.290-294; 'Pyrgi. Scavi del Santuario Etrusco' (1959-1967). *NS* 1970, Supplemento II.

¹⁵ Mengarelli 1935, pp.83-94.

¹⁶ Bonghi Jovino 1971, p.43.

sanctuaries of Sovana and Orvieto¹⁷, where a nude goddess presides over a funerary cult¹⁸.

The concern of Uni, Mater Matuta, Diana, and Ceres for women, birth and childhood, makes them logical choices for the protection of families and their health. Feronia was supposed to be associated with slaves in the Sabine territory, and Ceres protected the plebs¹⁹.

The introduction of Asklepios into Rome by Q. Ogulnius in 292 B.C. may also point to the growing patronage of the plebs, while the heyday of anatomical ex-votos in south Etruria and Latium in the 2nd century B.C. follows on the slave revolts of the previous century²⁰. The majority of the shrines with anatomical votives, both rural and urban, are those connected with the lower classes of society, in contrast to the Roman state Pantheon. They were important to the poor as an essential service, in the same way as an infirmary, where previously no help was available. Before the 4th century, the deposits with anatomical votives are rare, even sanctuaries that survived over a long period of time, like the one at Veii Campetti, disclose this kind of votives only in the later deposits²¹.

In the archaic period offerings to the sanctuaries in the south Etruscan areas were mostly pottery, objects of precious metal, figurines in bronze and terracotta representing the divinity. From the end of the 6th early 5th centuries B.C., small terracotta heads, generic in type and mass produced, started to be included amongst the offers. This early phase is well attested at Campetti, which has produced a large number of these objects from deposits dated between the 6th and 5th centuries B.C.²². The reasons for the presence at Veii of a type of votive offering not found before, can perhaps be explained by the cult practised at Campetti. It is known from a 3rd century B.C. latin inscription

¹⁷ Andren 1967, pp.41-85.

¹⁸ On the link with Vei/Demeter: Torelli 1977, pp.398-458.

¹⁹ Staingraber 1980, p.243.

²⁰ Staingraber 1980, pp.245-246.

²¹ Vagnetti 1971, pp.95-96.

²² Vagnetti 1971, pp.31-46, A I-XXVIII, pls.V-XVII; pp.50-52, C I-III, pls.XX-XXI.

found on the site that the cult of Ceres was practised at Campetti by that time. For the earlier period of existence of the sanctuary there is no epigraphical evidence, however, the archaeological evidence seems to support a theory of continuity of this cult. The remains of the structure of the sanctuary are closely paralleled with those of some chthonian divinities from Sicily and Magna Graecia related to the cult of Demeter and Kore²³. The archaic sanctuary at Campetti has, on these bases, been interpreted as dedicated to Demeter-Vei²⁴.

41 / The early votive heads can also be compared to the masks and female busts connected with the cult of Demeter-Kore from Sicily and South Italy. However, at Veii masks and busts are absent, but masks are found in the sanctuary at Gravisca, again connected with the cult of Demeter²⁵. If the small votive heads were originally meant to represent Demeter and Kore like in Magna Graecia, in central Italy they soon lose this significance to become a more generic representation of the offerer, male and female. In votive deposits there is usually a higher proportion of female heads to male heads, and the majority of divinities known to receive anatomical votives are also female²⁶. At Veii there are about 200 heads datable to the 5th century B.C., of which only four are male, a not altogether surprising fact considering that the cult at Campetti was that of a female goddess with definite female interests.

III Caput Velatum

The offerer can be represented on the terracotta heads and statues, veiled or not. In Rome veiled heads, both male and female, are predominant, the same is true for many of the Latin colonies as they would follow the religious rites of Rome which prescribed the *caput velatum*. This practice, originally called *ritus Gabinus*, was very ancient and was common in all the Latin territory. Ancient

²³ Torcelli 1973, pp.403-404.

²⁴ Torcelli 1977, p.439.

²⁵ Comella 1978, pp.13-15, A 3-6, pl.II.

²⁶ Steingraber 1980, p.245; Comella 1981, pp.717-803.

sources claimed Aeneas as the initiator of this practice²⁷. This custom is the opposite of the Greek which required the *aperto capite*

In Rome only three cults required the *aperto capite*: Hercules, Honos and Saturnus, the first because of its Greek origin, the second probably because of its Etruscan origin²⁸.

Etruscan cities like Caere seem to prefer unveiled terracotta heads²⁹, the same is true for the earlier heads of Campania, where only at the end of the 4th and 3rd centuries B.C. veiled heads start to appear. It is possible that in south Etruria and Campania unveiled heads were the norm; at the same time in Rome and other Latin areas veiled heads were more common, as can be seen on two male heads dated to the middle of the 4th century B.C. in the Museo delle Terme in Rome³⁰. The political expansion of Rome is paralleled in the late 4th-3rd centuries B.C. by a larger use of the veil on the heads, a sign of the growing popularity of Roman religious rites, particularly in the Latin colonies lacking local traditions or wishing to deliberately ignore the local ones. Unveiled heads, however, never totally disappear.

²⁷ Festus s.v. *Saturnia Italia*; Plutarch *Quae.Rom.* X; according to whom Aeneas sacrificed on the Italian shore with the head veiled in order not to be recognised by a Greek. Reinach 1905, pp.300-301.

²⁸ Latte 1960, p.137; Pensabene 1980, p.48.

²⁹ Hafner 1966-67, p.35. However numerous veiled heads from Caere exist.

³⁰ Inv.nos.63256, 63258: Pensabene 1979, p.219, pl.44, 1-2; Hafner 1970, p.48, pl.21, no.1.

Chapter 3

THE NOTION OF VOTIVE OFFERING IN THE ANCIENT WORLD

I The origin

To offer a gift to the god is a way to come into closer contact, to create a rapport with the deity. To offer " Gifts to the Gods may appear to be a simple and natural phenomenon: a token of respect for superior powers, an expression of thanks for life and all the good things we receive every day. This is a very old way of communicating and acting with regard to gods: keeping contact with the divine through giving."¹.

The most elementary form of gift offering was the first-fruit offering, whether attained by hunting, fishing, gathering or agriculture; the animal sacrifices follow or accompany the food offerings. Such practice is common to many different cultures in many different periods. However, the significance of the votive offering can not be assumed to be identical in different cultures and different periods².

Already in the Bronze Age, and particularly in the early Iron Age, the practice of offering gifts of various kinds becomes common in the Mediterranean regions, expanding possibly from the East into Greece, Cyprus, Asia Minor and then into Italy³, Sicily, Sardinia, and Iberia⁴. Archeological evidence can trace the custom of dedicating permanent memorials, in return for a special benefit, back to the 8th century B.C. at Olympia, Argos, Delphi, Thebes, Corcyra Samos and perhaps Athens⁵.

¹ Burkert W. 'Offerings in Perspective: Surrender, Distribution, Exchange' in Linders-Nordquist 1987, p.43.

² Homolle in Daremberg-Saglio, II, p.364; Toutain in Daremberg-Saglio, V, p.969.

³ *Civiltà del Lazio Primitivo*, pp.145, 328.

⁴ *EUA*, IV, 294.

⁵ Rouse 1902, pp.348-9.

Votive religion displays a number of constant components, some of which survived into Roman Catholic and Greek Orthodox Churches in the shape of votive plaques, silver hearts and other such offerings that can still be seen in many churches. If such bargaining with God has survived into modern society, we can perhaps begin to sense how powerful it must have been on the ancient mind.

II In the Greek religious sphere

"It is good to give the proper gifts to the immortals." Priam states⁶, and Odysseus can claim divine help because "he has given sacred things to the gods more than other men" ⁷.

The Greeks in order to have a good relationship with the gods were devoted to prayer, sacrifice and votive offering; the three are normally closely connected⁸. Sacrifices and votive offerings are often mentioned together by ancient authors, Plato in his *Laws* describes offerings to the gods: "Women in particular, all of them, and the sick everywhere, and those who are in danger, or in difficulty and need of whatever kind, and on the contrary when they get hold of affluence, then people have the costume to devote whatever is present to the gods, they make vows about sacrifices, they promise setting up (statues, altars, temples) to the gods and daimones and to the children of gods."⁹ In both cases something is offered to the gods. During the sacrifice the offer made is for consumption, human or divine. For the practice of sacrifice we have to rely on the literary sources, as it is obviously mostly absent in the archaeological

⁶ *Iliad* XXIV, 425.

⁷ *Odyssey* I, 66.

⁸ Plato defines piety as "knowledge of sacrificing and praying" and sacrificing as "making gifts to the gods": Plato *Euthyphro*, 14 c.

⁹ Plato *Leg.*, 909-910.

record¹⁰; on the other hand for the practice of offering votives not only the actual votives survive, but we have much epigraphical information on the subject ¹¹.

III The votive offering as an exchange

We can see from inscriptions that the votive offerings, like the sacrifices, were often presented to redeem a vow previously made in a prayer: "To Dionysus in exchange for favours"¹²; "Child of Zeus, receive on behalf of Ekphantos this perfect showpiece, for Grophon has completed it for you according to his vow"¹³.

The votive offering made to the god as a result of a vow is an exchange of gifts: the human in need seeks deliverance from his predicament through a voluntary act of renunciation. The vow is made aloud, ceremonially, and before witnesses; if the outcome is successful, fulfilment of the vow is an inescapable duty¹⁴. In the Greek world the votive offering was part of a more or less commercial transaction between man and god, but it was also a tangible proof of gratitude towards the divinity for listening to a prayer. The gift to the god also can be seen as a "symbolic capital" and "investment", the expectation of a return for a gift, or the obligation incurred by receiving a gift. These are concepts firmly enrooted in archaic societies¹⁵.

¹⁰ Ancient literature is full of instances of sacrifice and votive offering, for example: *Odyssey* XIV, 414-53, where the swineherd Eumaios offers portions of his meat for Hermes and the nymphs; *Iliad* VII, 81, X, 458-64, 570f, Hector promises to dedicate the armour of his opponent to Apollo and Odysseus donates Dolon's cap, bow and spear to Athena.

¹¹ Van Stratten 'Gift for the Gods' in Vesnel 1981; Wachsmuth D. "Weihungen" in *Kleine Pauly*, V, 1975, pp.1355-1359; on votive inscriptions: Lazzarini 1976.

¹² *IG* VII, 1794.

¹³ *IG* XII, 3, 1075.

¹⁴ Burkert 1985, pp.68-69.

¹⁵ Burkert 1985, p.47, note 1.

It was a very simple idea of the deity which suggested the votive offering. He or she was regarded as not too different from the worshipper and was assumed to be gratified with the offer of a gift. Also the god needed a house (temple) and food (libation and sacrifices). If the worshipper was granted wealth and luck, the deity, considered the giver of such good fortune, was acknowledged with a gift. So the warrior dedicated a part of his spoil, the tradesman or farmer a part of his profits. The gift to the gods in a situation of prosperity can be seen again in the *Odyssey* when Aegisthus, after having slain Agamemnon and married Clytemnestra, "burnt many things on the sacred altars of the gods, and hung up many votive gifts, clothes and gold, because he had accomplished a great deed which he never would have hoped for"¹⁶. If he is delivered from sickness or danger it is equally natural to acknowledge the favour.

A prayer to the god is always more acceptable if accompanied by a vow¹⁷. However, the essence of the votive offering is freewill, whether it is the first-fruits of a farmer to Artemis or the gold vessel of a rich merchant to Apollo. Had the offering been compulsory, it would have been a tax. On the other hand, the deity may resent neglect. The farmer is aware that Artemis may retaliate if first-fruits are not presented to her.

Offerings were made in fulfilment of a vow, but also as thanksgiving, propitiation and prayer. The offering is also intended as a memorial, to remind man of God's providence or to remind the god of his worshipper's gratitude, or both. From the 4th century B.C. it is often the giver's intention to display a memorial to men of his own devotion and virtue¹⁸.

IV The votive offering as substitution

Some scholars believe that the votive offering did not have in ancient times the same significance that it has in modern religions¹⁹. Following a study by

¹⁶ *Odyssey* III, 273.

¹⁷ Rouse 1902, p.350.

¹⁸ Rouse 1902, pp.147, 351; *CIA* II.470.

¹⁹ Pazzini 1935, pp.42-79.

Frazer²⁰, Pazzini claims that in the ancient mentality, the sick person was such because he or she had sinned or offended the god. The votive, in this case the anatomical votive, was a way of substituting for the part of the body chosen by the offended god as expiation and therefore attacked by disease. However, there is no evidence for this. If this concept was related to the original significance of the practice, we must ask ourselves if it still had any relation to the significance acquired by the classical period and, in particular, between the 4th and 2nd centuries B.C.

V The votive offering as a gift

Far more acceptable is the concept of the votive offering as a way to make the divinity in question aware of the needs of the offerer, for healing purposes, protection, fertility, or as a gift of gratitude for a wish granted. It is possible that the concept of expiation-substitution was, to some extent, always present in the relationship between man and god, in a kind of almost contractual agreement. Man was to pay for his mistakes in order to be even with the divinity. This would apply also to sins committed unwittingly, hence the scrupulous and meticulous execution of rituals, a practice important to Etruscan and Roman religion and permeating every aspect of life.

Public offerings and dedications for deliverance from great dangers and plagues are well documented in the Greek world. Also the private dedications of individuals: Alyattes the Lydian, at Delphi early in the 6th century B.C., offered for the cure of a disease a great silver bowl, with a stand of welded iron²¹. Pericles dedicated a statue to Athena Hygieia for saving the life of a workman who fell from scaffolding²².

Gifts and offerings are appropriate to all times and seasons, and there is no part of human life which is not considered worthy of a reminder to the deity: gratitude for success in war or the games, safe completion of a voyage,

²⁰ Frazer 1922.

²¹ Herodotus V, 82.

²² Plutarch. *Pericles*, 13.

material prosperity, unexpected good luck, cure from disease, prevented danger, public honours, puberty, manhood, marriage, childbirth, etc.

According to which of these categories the votive offer is directed, it can be of a material or ideal type. Material is an object given for its own value: for example a successful merchant who wants to share with the god his fortune, may offer precious metal objects or money to the temple. Ideal is an object offered for what it implies: for example the anatomical votives dedicated as a reminder of the part of the body cured by the interest of the deity.

VI The votive offering in the sanctuary

Greek temples and sanctuaries were filled with votive offerings, votive tablets, festoons, wreaths. In certain cases it was necessary to lay down special rules, as can be seen in a 3rd century B.C. inscription from the Asklepieion at Rhodes: "No one is permitted to request that an image be raised or some other votive offering set up in the lower part of the sanctuary (...) or any other spot where votive offerings prevent people walking past" ²³. This phenomenon was observed by contemporary writers in a great number of sanctuaries crowded with ex-votos, not only grand and costly, such as precious metals and full scale sculpture, but also more modest painted votive tablets, small bronzes and terracottas²⁴.

The votive offerings in the sanctuary were the exclusive property of the divinity to which they were dedicated, and they could not under any circumstances be sold, exchanged or used in any other way. They were sacred from the moment they were dedicated and any action taken against them would be considered sacrilege. The votive offerings were entered in registers, a few such lists have survived from Greek sanctuaries²⁵.

²³ Sokolowsky 1969, p.107.

²⁴ Starbo VII, 374; Pausanias II 11,6; III 26,1; Diodorus Siculus V 63; Herondas IV; Plato, *Leg.* 909-910; Cicero *De natura deorum* III 89; Aelian, *De natura animalium* VII 13.

²⁵ Bodei Giglioni G. *RivStIt* 1977, p.45; Bourguet E. *Les comptes du IV siècle*. Paris 1932; the fullest information available comes from the inventories of the Athenian Asklepieion *IG* II² 1532-1537,1539; from the Amphiareion at Oropos *IG* VII 303; Ahens

The offerings were in such number that they literally covered the entire area of the sanctuary, inside and outside²⁶. The more precious offerings were placed in the *cella* near the cult statue, the walls, columns, architraves had ex-votos hanging from hooks, others were placed on shelves. External doors, columns and architraves also had offers of a more durable kind and suitable for general decoration. There were no particular rules concerning the placing of the ex-votos, they may have been grouped according to shape, type, subject, dimensions, probably trying to achieve a decorative effect. The only offerings that required a specific place or room were precious objects and money. Open air worship, although uncommon, was certainly carried out, for example at Lavinium, where the votives were assembled around the thirteen open air altars²⁷. The sanctuaries needed frequent clearing of the older votives to make room for the new ones. The older votives could not be discarded, even when of little value like the terracottas, which were generally broken to pieces to prevent any attempt to steal and re-use them. The broken pieces were ceremonially deposited in underground chambers, or large pits, dug near the sanctuary. In this way the offerings were still within the sanctuary precinct and for the disposal of the divinity.

VII The votive offering in the Italic sphere

Not only the great and famous sanctuaries were full of votives, but also the modest shrines of deities of local significance such as heroes and nymphs. The rural population, whose entire life took place within the confines of the village, would express gratitude for the help of the divinity by crowding the shrine with modest gifts, less costly but presented with no less *pietas* than those in larger sanctuaries. There were no fixed rules in the sanctuary and anyone was free to dedicate any kind of object and make any request to the god. It was not uncommon, as in the case of Aesculapius, directly associated with healing and medicine, for a deity to receive gifts redeeming a vow made outside his more

sanctuary of the Heros Iatros *IG* II² 839; Delos sanctuary of Demeter and Kore (Thesmophorion) *ID* 1444, Ba, 2,9,10,11,16,17.

²⁶ Pausanias II xi,6 and III xxvi,1.

²⁷ Torelli in *Lavinium* II, 1975.

obvious sphere of action. For example, an inscription in Rome to Aesculapius and Hygeia is dedicated by merchants to propitiate the good results of a commercial transaction²⁸. The people that worshipped in the sanctuaries have left behind a tangible proof of their *pietas* in the shape of the ex-votos. The offering can be virtually anything, from a simple piece of *aes rude* to a statue or a gold vessel. Two of the most commonly used materials for ex-votos were bronze and terracotta (organic materials must have been very common as well but they have rarely survived), the first favoured because it was durable, and the second because it was inexpensive.

Of the numerous types of gifts offered many have perished due to the nature of the material in which they were made, such as painted wooden images or precious metals which ended in the melting pot. Others have survived in great numbers, like the anatomical votive models in terracotta, as can be seen in the Asklepieion in Corinth, where arms, legs, feet, hands, breasts, male genitals, and heads are present²⁹. From the 4th century B.C. onwards, Greek anatomical ex-votos are numerous, though never as overwhelmingly abundant as in Italy. The tradition of dedicating replicas of parts of the human body was widespread in the ancient world, a practice that is by no means dead today. Whether the individual dedications were intended as appeal to the divine power, or as thank-offering, is not always clear. Inscriptions recording gratitude to Asklepios are known from Greece and Italy and in these cases there can little doubt of interpretation³⁰.

VIII Distribution of votive types on the Italian territory

Different areas of the Italian peninsula varied in their types of votives, indicating local cultural individuality as much as the type of available resources. Bronze is preferred above all other materials in the inland areas of northern Etruria, which had access to rich metal sources, from Orvieto-Chiusi to Volterra and as far north as Bologna. South of this region terracotta is the

²⁸ *CIL*, VI, 18.

²⁹ Roebuck 1951, p.113.

³⁰ Roebuck 1951, p.117; Moretti 1968, I, no.105; *CIL*, XI, 1295.

favourite material since the archaic period. The Roman expansion was to make this material popular throughout Italy. Terracotta was the traditional material for votives in the southern part of the Tyrrhenian coastal area, the lands of the Latins, Ausonians and Campanians, not so rich in metal resources as its neighbouring north Etruria, but where clay was abundant³¹. The Umbrians, the Veneti and generally all the populations of the Apennines and the Adriatic coastal areas followed in the bronze tradition³².

IX Specialisation of sanctuaries

Sometimes the nature of the sanctuary may determine the popularity of certain categories of offerings. At the healing sanctuaries, for example, the anatomical votives reproducing the parts of the human body, upon which the divine intervention was required, were preferred. We have only a general idea of the nature of most sanctuaries. However, there are indications to suggest that there may have been some degree of specialisation. Pliny himself informs us that the curative powers of the springs, around which many healing sanctuaries were consecrated, varied from place to place.

Some waters were specifically beneficial for the treatment of foot and sinew complaints, others were better suited to the cure of sciatica or eye and ear disorders, others again were recommended for gout and stone bladder. Interestingly Pliny advocates the use of certain spring waters also to childless women to promote fertility, an idea also promoted by Vitruvius³³.

Already in Greece a certain degree of specialisation between sanctuaries seems evident: at the Asklepieia in Corinth votive eyes are rare (only three), while in Athens they are numerous; in Corinth internal organs are rare but they are frequently listed in Athens³⁴.

³¹ Steingraber 1980, pp.215-253.

³² Colonna 1970, pp.23-24.

³³ Pliny *N.H.*, XXI; Vitruvius VIII,3.

³⁴ Rocbuck 1951, p.120-121; Rouse 1902, p.212.

X The anatomical ex-votos

In Italy the frequency of certain types of ex-votos, particularly of the anatomical models, may indicate the therapeutic properties of the sanctuary and the principal ailments to which the healing divinity was able to offer relief.

Interesting observations on this matter have been put forward for the healing sanctuary at Ponte di Nona, on the Via Praenestina, near Rome, where more than eight thousand votive terracottas were excavated³⁵. A comparison is drawn between the excavated deposits of anatomical votive terracottas at the sanctuaries of Ponte di Nona, Lavinium and Veii Campetti. In the first two centres the bulk of terracottas consists of feet, hands, heads and statues, while viscera and sexual organs are scarce. At Ponte di Nona eye models are also very frequent (over one thousand). The deposit at the sanctuary of Campetti at Veii is made up for nearly 70% of sexual organs and breasts³⁶. This remarkable contrast between the contents of the deposits must reflect areas of specialisation within the healing cult.

Anatomical votives occur at sites of well known medical cults such as Minerva Medica and the Asklepieion on the Tiber Island, but they also occur in great numbers in many suburban shrines with healing waters such as at Veii, Vulci North Gate, the Heraion at Caere, the shrine of Juno Curitis at Civita Castellana, Gabii, Ponte di Nona and many others. They also occur at the shrines of local divinities not directly associated with healing and medicine, such as Dea Marica at Minturno and Mefitis at Rocca San Felice and Settefratti³⁷.

³⁵ Potter 1985, pp.24-47, pls. VI-XI.

³⁶ Potter 1985, pp. 28-29, 39, fig.4.

³⁷ Steingraber 1980, p.237.

XI Miniaturisation as symbolic substitution

It is also worth mentioning some of the other categories of votive terracottas, found in the Italic sanctuaries together with the anatomical ex-votos. It is rare to find Italian sanctuaries that do not yield models of various species of animals. Bovines always are the most popular³⁸, but horses, boars and birds are also common. Rams and dogs³⁹ are occasionally found and even exotic animals such as lions⁴⁰. Terracotta votives in the shape of domestic animals can be interpreted as a personification of the same upon which the offerer wishes to bring the divine protection. Of course, in the context of a sanctuary the possibility that the model may represent a sacrificial animal must not be dismissed. The notion of miniaturisation of the objects to be offered to the gods was strongly felt by the Italic populations. To reproduce objects of real life, such as animals, fruits, food, presupposes the recognised and accepted value of the object as a symbolic substitute for the real thing. In fact we can extend this idea to the object as a substitute for the sacrificed animal and, in the case of the anthropomorphic figurines of generic type, even human. This practice is common all over the Mediterranean area, and also in Italy, interpreted as a surrogate for human sacrifices. Ancient tradition and myths seem to confirm this interpretation. We know, for example, how king Numa tried to trick the bloodthirsty Jupiter by replacing the desired sacrifices with garlic heads, hair, and live fish⁴¹. Also common are the terracotta replicas of fruits and food such as cakes, presumably intended as a substitute for the authentic object to offer to the divinity.

³⁸ The sickness of a bull would have been a matter of grave concern amongst farming communities.

³⁹ Dogs are quite often associated with healing sanctuaries: Wheeler 1932, p.41.

⁴⁰ Lions have been found at Cagliari: Vivanet F. 'Nuove terracotte votive ripescate nella laguna di Santa Gilla' *NS* 1893, p.256, and at the temple of Mater Matuta at Conca: Barnabei F. et al. 'Di un antico tempio dove si pone la sede della città di Satricum' *NS* 1896, p.23ff.

⁴¹ Ovid, *Fasti*, III, 334-339; Capdeville 1971, pp.283-323.

XII Fertility, puberty and well-being

Less obvious is the significance of the figurines. Most Italic sanctuaries yield a large number of figurines of assorted type. A single deposit often can hold: figurines of sitting or standing couples, with or without child, figurines of divinities⁴², and representations of generic types, both male and female, of the Tanagra repertoire. These may be linked to a particular period in the life of the offerer: marriage, in the case of a sitting couple, or childbirth, in the case of a couple with child and new born babies. Figurines of the young Apollo and Hercules may indicate the reaching of puberty for a boy and figurines of Venus for a girl. Mercury may indicate the successful results of a business deal. However, the figurines of the divinity may represent the actual worship of the sanctuary, as at the temple of Magna Mater on the Palatine⁴³.

In Rome the reason for making an offer and vows to the gods (*votum solvere*, *votum reddere*, *pro-voto*, *ex-voto*, *votum posuit*, *votum fecit*, *votum susceptum*, *votum dedicavit*) is sometimes, as in Greece, revealed in inscriptions found together with the offers⁴⁴. The motivations can be related to disease, successful completion of a journey or of a military expedition, financial and political success. For the lower classes of society and the slaves, amongst whom the offerers of terracottas can be mostly found, it can be a request for a cure from sickness for oneself or for a relative, aspiration to freedom, marriage, childbirth, love problems, etc. Also a general vow of *sanatio*, good health, could be indicated in the case of statues, figurines, male and female heads. The terracotta figurines of couples, women with children and figurines of female divinities are more likely related to fertility and child-birth.

⁴² Of different divinities from the one worshipped at the sanctuary. At the deposit of Minerva Medica, in Rome, were also found figurines of Hercules, Apollo, Mercury, Venus and Athena, all deities associated with healing cults.

⁴³ Romanelli P. in *MonLinc.* XLVI, 1962, p.264.

⁴⁴ De Marchi 1896, p.271.

Chapter 4

ANCIENT MEDICINE AND THE ANATOMICAL VOTIVES¹

Although not strictly inherent to the study of votive heads, it is valuable, for a general picture of the Italic custom of offering anatomical ex-votos, to spend some words on ancient medical knowledge. The anatomical models are closely associated with the heads, as they are almost invariably found together in votive deposits, and also in museums's collections. In the British Museum the provenance of the objects is generally unknown, nevertheless they form a comparable group from the same, or similar, source.

I The dawn of medical science

The Greek epics relate that the knowledge of the healing properties of plants which Askepios had received from Cheiron, was applied by those "excellent physicians" his sons Machaon and Podaleirios during the Trojan War. According to tradition, they transmitted this learning to their descendants, the clan of Asklepiadai, as a sacred heritage. Wounds were treated by those "skilled in many remedies", by removing foreign bodies and dressing with mild, soothing roots and herbs². The use of remedies from plants was a customary practice, and it can not be doubted that this therapeutic tradition formed the basis for the observations from which the early scientific methods in medicine were developed.

The Hippocratic writings indicate that the early medical schools conducted within the Asklepieia were very practical in their manner of thought: "to offer

¹ A paper on this subject has been submitted for publication to the *Institute of Archaeology Bulletin*, UCL, XXX, 1993, pp.29-40.

² *Iliad*, IV, 219; XI, 512, 830, 845; XVI, 29.

up prayers is no doubt becoming and good, but while praying to the gods a man ought also to use his own exertions"³.

Under the patronage of the healing temples on one hand, and independent physicians and philosophers on the other, medical knowledge was enriched by facts gathered from many recorded observations until the healing art emerged from the temple schools. Epigraphical evidence testify for the presence of physicians at some temples⁴, and the discovery of surgical instruments at a temple site is an indication that certain centres may have practised surgery⁵. It is undoubtable that the great medical schools of the Greek world flourished alongside the sanctuaries, in particular of Asklepios. The material methods used for cures by the physicians were mainly: burning, cutting and starving⁶. At the temple the more practical therapeutics methods of external application used were lotions and ointments, exercise, baths followed by friction and other manipulation, diet, and a general hygienic regime. Medicine became more rational with the passage of time and less dependent on faith and miracle. After the Roman conquest and during the early Christian era, the Asklepieia were steadily becoming more like modern sanatoria and hospital.

In Italy, while religious healing was gaining popularity among the citizens of Rome, the germs of more scientific methods of treatment were transplanted by many Greek physicians from Knidos, Cos and Alexandria, who, in spite of the diffidence of some Romans like Cato the Elder, came in increasing numbers, many gaining respect and influence. It was during the mid-to-late Republican period that empirical medicine was introduced into central Italy. It appears that the great majority of educated Romans preferred this kind of medical treatment to the religious healing of the temples, which they regarded with scepticism and scorn, as being too plebeian. This widespread mistrust toward religious healing among the upper class citizens of Rome is illustrated by several remarks of

³ Hippocrates, *de Hinsomniis*, II,87; Adams 1886, I, p.68.

⁴ Roebuck 1951, pp.156-157.

⁵ Grenier 1960, p.817.

⁶ Plato, *Protagoras*, 107.

Cicero, in particular: "I believe that those who recover from illness are more indebted to the care of Hippocrates than to the power of Aesculapius"⁷.

II The evidence of the anatomical votives

A most useful work on the anatomical votives of Lavinium was carried out by Maria Fenelli⁸. She emphasizes the difference between the use of the term "ex-voto" and "anatomical votive", which she favours. The word "ex-voto" suggests the idea of an offer to the divinity in exchange for a favour; the anatomical votive is more specifically the representation of a part of the anatomy, human or animal, offered to the divinity. The most commonly represented parts of the human anatomy are: male and female torsos and chests, sometimes open to show the viscera, heads and half heads, eyes, ears, noses, tongues, breasts, full limbs, hands, arms, feet, buttocks, male and female genital organs, internal and external organs such as hearts and intestines⁹.

Already in Crete in the first Palace phase reproductions of parts of the human anatomy, clearly intended as votives, were found, in particular at the sanctuaries of Petsofà near Palekastros and Kalo Chorio¹⁰. Small ears, eyes and feet in gold, silver and ivory were excavated in a rich deposit at the Artemision in Ephesus¹¹. They were also present in the sanctuaries of Asklepios and of other healing divinities: in the Asklepieia in Athens¹², at Epidauros, Corinth¹³,

⁷ Cicero, *de Natura Deorum.*, III, 38.

⁸ Fenelli 1975, pp.206-252.

⁹ Stieda 1901, p.63ff; Capparoni P. 'La persistenza della forma degli antichi donaria anatomici negli ex-voto moderni' in *Boll.Ist.Stor.It.Arte Sanitaria* XXVI,II, 1927, p.44ff.

¹⁰ Platon N. 'Cretese Miceneo' in *EUA* IV, 1958, p.76; Myres 1902-1903, pp.374-375, pl.XII.

¹¹ Hogarth 1908, pp.107-108, 196, pl .VII.

¹² Very famous is the relief in Pentalic marble from Athens, of second half of 4th century B.C., showing a bearded man facing left, carrying a huge leg on which is a very thick varicose vein. The man is evidently placing his votive offering in the shrine: Athens N.M. 3526; Tabanelli 1962, p.2, fig.1; Van Stratten 'Gifts for the Gods' in Versnel 1981, p.113, no.2.1, fig.52 and bibliography.

Cos, Pergamon¹⁴ and Delos¹⁵. Others were found in Cyprus¹⁶, and examples showing pathological peculiarities were discovered even in Gaul¹⁷.

In the Greek world the anatomical votives are generally in marble or metal, the terracotta examples from Corinth, of late 5th to late 4th centuries B.C., are exceptions¹⁸. The Corinthian terracottas are mostly heads, eyes, ears, tongues, torsos, breasts, hands and arms, legs and feet, male genitalia. Their similarity with the Italic examples is remarkable, offering the best parallel in Greece for a practice that was more widespread in Italy.

In Italy, the Etruscans were reputed to be excellent physicians and some ex-votos from Tessennano near Vulci are considered the most ancient representations of internal organs so far known¹⁹. Anatomical votives have been retrieved in huge numbers, mostly in central Italy, dated between the 4th and the 1st centuries B.C.²⁰. The great popularity of the anatomical models Italy can be partly explained, by the absence of a longstanding tradition of professional medicine, as in Greece²¹. In Italy only the upper stratum of society had admittance to an expensive Greek doctor, the rest of the population had to place faith, for every sort of cure, to the nearest healing divinity. Thus every village shrine was employed as a sort of clinic.

¹³ De Weale 1933, pp.417-451; Broneer 1947, p.247, pl.LXVI, 33; Roebuck 1951, p.111f.

¹⁴ De Luca 1968, pp.171-172.

¹⁵ Deonna 1938, pp.218-220; other interesting votive offers from Greece in: Holländer 1902, p.215f.; Major 1954, pp.110, 116-117: terracotta breasts and male genitals showing pronounced phimoses from Corinth, votive tablet with womb from Cos, a brain from Corinth.

¹⁶ Caubet-Helly 1971, pp.331-334.

¹⁷ Bernard 1958, pp.328-358; Lebel 1965, pp.245-258; Garnier 1960, II, VI.

¹⁸ Roebuch 1951, p.113.

¹⁹ Tabanelli M. 'Le testimonianze della medicina nel mondo Etrusco.' *Pagine della Storia della Medicina* VI, 1, 1962, p.5.

²⁰ Fenelli 1975, pp.233-245, fig.1.

²¹ Edelstein 1945, pp.1-64.

The practice of dedicating anatomical ex-votos declined abruptly towards the end of the 2nd century B.C., and by the end of the Republic they had almost totally disappeared.

At Veii the deposit at Campetti was sealed by c.50 B.C. at the temple of Minerva Medica in Rome and at Capua there is nothing that can be dated later than the first part of the 1st century B.C.²². The causes for the decline of such a popular tradition are not clear. However, it is possible that the constantly improving standards of medical science may be at the root of it. The practice survived far longer in the provinces, particularly Gaul and Britain, where a number of sanctuaries have yielded anatomical votives, mostly in bronze, some wood but rarely in terracotta²³.

Of course the practice has never really disappeared, but has been translated into the Christian religion, where it still survives in the form of the miniature ex-votos decorating the walls of churches in many parts of the world.

III Medical interpretation of the anatomical votives

After many decades of neglect, much attention has, in recent years, been directed towards the anatomical *donaria* from archaeologists and medical historians. The first serious attempt to focus on the subject was made in the 1930's by Pazzini²⁴, embracing a magic-homeopathic view of the problem following a study by Frazer²⁵. He offered a more profound analysis on the issue than the interpretation proposed by Rouse, according to whom the anatomical votive is simply a reminder to the divinity, to propitiate or to acknowledge a

²² Torelli-Pohl 1973, p.40ff; Gatti Lo Guzzo 1978, pp.150-151; Bonghi Jovino 1965, p.23ff.

²³ Horne P.D. King A. 'Romano-Celtic temples in continental Europe' in Rodwell 1980, pp.369-555: they list sixteen sites with anatomical ex-votos; Henig 1985, p.145ff; Martin 1965, pp.247-252; Vatin 1969, pp.320-330; Poursat 1973, pp.439-444

²⁴ Pazzini 1935, p.54.

²⁵ Frazer 1922.

favour²⁶. Pazzini and Frazer perceived the anatomical ex-voto as a substitution for the diseased part of the body, in exchange for a cure, linked with the complex concept of expiation and sin²⁷. The theory is favoured by some scholars²⁸, but rejected by others as too speculative and removed from its historical perspective in the Italic context²⁹.

More relevant is the medical interest arising from the anatomical replicas: do the votives represent healthy or diseased organs? what relationship existed between the medical knowledge of the time and the craftsman's products? between religion and medical cures? between the geophysical characteristics of the site of the sanctuary, springs and healing waters, and the range of anatomical types present?

In some cases the speculation on the subject can get out of hand and some enthusiastic assumptions made on the level of anatomical knowledge of the Etruscans are substantially gratuitous³⁰.

More realistically, the evidence for a relationship between medical knowledge and anatomical votives is fragmentary, particularly with regard to the internal organs. Apart for representations of single organs, mostly uterus and some hearts, conventionally represented but clearly identifiable, other internal organs and visceral groups are more difficult to recognise. In most cases they are not very realistically rendered in shape and proportions. Only in the case of open

²⁶ Rouse 1902, p.210ff.

²⁷ Chapter 3, paragraph IV.

²⁸ Pugliese Carratelli G. 'Lazio, Roma e Magna Grecia prima del secolo IV a.C.' *ParPass* XXIII, 1968, p.325ff. Pugliese Carratelli sees this interpretation closely linked with the original double function of the healing divinity as bestower of health but also giver of disease; Fenelli 1975, p.210.

²⁹ Ferrea-Pinna 'Il deposito votivo: votivi anatomici' in Coarelli 1986, p.133.

³⁰ Decouflé 1964, pp.36-437: the author makes the distinction, without offering any supporting proof, between *ex voto segmentaires*, or isolated anatomical parts, and *mannequines d'ansembles*, or open whole trunks exposing the viscera. He maintains that the first are offered by common people of low social standing and are mass produced; the second he claims offered by a better and more educated class, showing advanced knowledge of human anatomy and expressly commissioned (p.36-37). He also reports that the more detailed anatomical replicas were used as teaching aids in medical schools near the sanctuaries.

torsos we can be certain that human organs are intended and not animal³¹. On the other hand, there is no way of knowing if the intention of the offerer was really to dedicate animal entrails (just in the same way as small models of whole animals were offered) in replacement for a valuable, live animal offer³². It is also possible that, if human organs were intended, due to the inadequate knowledge of the human anatomy, the better known animal parts were represented instead.

IV Representations of diseased and healthy organs

The level of anatomical knowledge reached by the populations of Etruria and central Italy from the 4th century B.C., is impossible to establish on the basis of the anatomical votive alone³³. It is safe to assume that, in most cases, the anatomical votives satisfy a request to the divinity for healing from ailment to the limb or organ represented³⁴. Given the limited number of representations of diseased organs in proportion to healthy ones, it is also evident that the indication of the specific disease was of secondary importance to the offer of the organ itself³⁵. It is impossible to know if the models showing apparently healthy organs were meant to illustrate disease, as some pathological conditions can not be displayed. In some cases the elements indicating the ailment may have been painted on the object, as can some times be found on modern votives.

³¹ The same organs are some times differently identified, as in the case of some votives from Bolsena recognised as human by Decouflé: Decouflé 1964, p.27, figs.9,18; and animal by Tabanelli: Tabanelli 1962, p.47, pl.16. Others from Tessennano have been identified as human by Tabanelli: Tabanelli 1962, pp.50-52, pl.18; either human or animal by Serchioni: Serchioni G. 'L'ispezione dei visceri nella antichità con riguardo all'aruspicina etrusca.' in *Veterinaria*.VIII, 1959, p.143, fig.4.

³² Serchioni op.cit. 1959, p.143.

³³ Giacosa P. *Notizie degli oggetti esposti alla mostra di storia della medicina di Torino*. 1898; Alexander 1905; Lützenkirchen 1974, I, pp.37-61.

³⁴ De Lact-Desittere 1969, p.17.

³⁵ Fenelli 1975, pp.211-212.

The anatomical votives were mass produced to satisfy the requests of many different people, therefore had to be standardised. It was enough to offer the reproduction of the organ or limb, probably only in some cases modified to the request of customers to indicate specific ailments³⁶. Besides, the craftsmen producing these objects were unlikely to have had much familiarity with contemporary medicine. However, a number of these models show very distinct pathological conditions of diverse types³⁷. For example a model of an arm with three large ulcers was found at Tarquinia³⁸, an elbow and the back of a knee from the deposit of Minerva Medica in Rome show in relief several festering pustules³⁹ and from the same deposit a female head displays on the forehead an area of newly re-growing hair⁴⁰.

Looking at specific anatomical groups from Lavinium, as examined by Fenelli, several interesting observations can be made⁴¹.

Feet are often found in large number, single or in pair, and generally no anatomical deformity is indicated. They seem to be more common in rural sanctuaries, patronised by farming communities where injuries to hands and feet must have been frequent and disabling⁴².

Ears never show pathological malformities (deafness or other hearing complaints are not graphically representable), and are in most cases illustrated with little care to anatomical accuracy⁴³. In Greece ears were a common ex-

³⁶ Fenelli 1975, pp.211-212.

³⁷ For anatomical votives reproducing clear pathological conditions: Holländer 1912, p.286ff.; Meyer Steineg-Sudhoff 1950, p.90, fig.35; p.61, fig.39; p.81, figs.50-51; Capparoni P. 'La persistenza della forma degli antichi donaria anatomici negli ex-voto moderni.' *Boll.Ist.Stor.It.Arte Sanitaria* XXVI-XXVII 1927, p.50ff.; Tabanelli 1962, pp.12-13.

³⁸ Romanelli P. in *NS* 1948, p.216, no.19.

³⁹ Gatti Lo Guzzo 1978, pl.LII.

⁴⁰ Gatti Lo Guzzo 1978, pl.XXXIII.

⁴¹ Fenelli 1975, p.215ff.

⁴² Potter 1985, pp.30, 41.

⁴³ Fenelli 1975, p.215, pl.XL,1.

voto, often hinting to the willingness of the divinity to listen to the prayers rather than as an anatomical donaria in the Italic sense⁴⁴.

Eyes can be represented as eyeball only or as the whole eye and lid. This distinction could reflect a real difference in the disease for which a cure was sought. The isolated eyeball was perhaps intended to indicate vision defects, such as myopia, detached retina, cataract, glaucoma, but the eye-plaque could be indicative of acute infections and lesions of the eyelids, such as conjunctivitis and trachoma. Inadequate hygienic conditions are a common cause of these diseases.

Without signs of pathology are also the few examples of tongue⁴⁵, torsos⁴⁶, breasts⁴⁷ and buttocks⁴⁸.

Breasts are a common donaria in many votive deposits in Italy and Greece, and there are even modern examples⁴⁹. At Lavinium only five examples survived, characterised by distinct nipples on more or less realistic models. This kind of offer, generally life size, could indicate either a breast disease such as mastitis, or a plea for motherhood or even for milk flow⁵⁰.

⁴⁴ Rocbuch 1951, p.120; Deonna 1938, pp.217-220; De Luca 1968, pl.62A; Van Stratten 'Gifts for the Gods' in Versnel 1981, pp.83, 144, figs.11-12. An inscription from Piacenza, in northern Italy, describes how *L.Callidus Primus* presented Minerva with two silver ears in response to a successful cure: *CIL*, XI, 1295.

⁴⁵ Only one and anatomically accurate: Fenelli 1975, p.216, pl.XL, 3. At the sanctuary of Ponte di Nona two human tongues were present, one a complete ex-voto with clearly marked uvula and tonsils, suggesting that tonsillitis may occasionally have been treated: Potter 1985, p.31. Ex-votos of this kind are rare and are recorded from only five other Italian sites: Fenelli 1975, p.232ff. At Ponte di Nona the model of a mouth was present with clearly marked lips and teeth, which has suggested possible dental problems: Potter 1985, p.31.

⁴⁶ Fenelli 1975, p.216, pl.XLI.

⁴⁷ Fenelli 1975, p.216.

⁴⁸ Only two examples: Fenelli 1975, p.216, pl.XLIII, 1.

⁴⁹ In Greece: Rocbuch 1951, p.121; Capparoni op.cit. 1927, p.55.

⁵⁰ Decouflé 1964, p.9.

Male genital organs are numerous, fully and realistically represented⁵¹. In some cases children's members are intended⁵². The most interesting observation made on this group is that many of the examples are represented showing clear evidence of phimosis, or with the gland completely covered as to look phimotic⁵³. This condition is also typical of male genital organs from other deposits⁵⁴, and probably also in votive deposits reported in old publications where the male genital organs are, prudishly, simply listed but not described or photographed. Phimosis is a condition induced by lack of hygiene and sexually-transmitted diseases, such as gonococcal disease, therefore it is reasonable to assume that the representations of the male genital organs reflected real circumstances. Venereal diseases were probably more common amongst urban population than farming communities. It is suggested by the higher percentage of votives representing genital organs in deposits at urban sanctuaries, such as Veii, compared to the number of such objects at rural shrines such as Ponte di Nona⁵⁵.

In presenting the healing deity with an accurate model of the ailment, the dedicant was requesting a specific cure from a specific affliction. It has been claimed that the phimotic look of the votives may be simply due to a conventional representation of the organ⁵⁶. Fenelli rightly argues against this hypothesis. She remarks that it is unlikely these terracottas were intended to represent healthy organs, as the healthy male genital is not difficult to represent. Indeed many examples of the healthy organ exist as its shape was

⁵¹ One of the most common donaria in Italy and Greece: Fenelli 1975, pp.216-218, pls.XL: 4, XL :5, XL: 6; Roebuch 1951, p.123.

⁵² Fenelli 1975, pl.XL:5.

⁵³ Fenelli 1975, pl.XL:6.

⁵⁴ Sambon 1895 p.9; Decouflé 1964, p.7; Tabanelli 1962, p.11; Major 1954, p.110; p.208, no.7.; Furfaro 1963, p.197: five examples from the Museo Civico in Bologna; Garofano Venosta 1966, p.16: examples from Capua; De Laet-Desittere 1969, p.22, no.15, pl.V:1: examples from Palestrina.

⁵⁵ Potter 1985, pp.39, 43.

⁵⁶ Holländer 1902, p.312ff.

well known, unlike some internal organs. Besides, the phimotic condition is often so accurately displayed to leave little doubt of interpretation⁵⁷.

Representations of female genital organs can be external⁵⁸ or internal. More frequent are the internal uteri, probably one of the more common ex-votos in the Italic world⁵⁹. The organ is presented as a mixture of anatomical accuracy and inventiveness. The muscular part of the organ is generally indicated by ridges, at times undulated. The model generally terminates at one end with an oval or circular opening. An elongated appendices on either side of the uterus, occasionally present, has been interpreted as the ovary and the Fallopian tubes⁶⁰ or as a vaginal cist⁶¹.

The first known studies on embryology and biology are attributed to Alcmaeon of Croton in the 6th century B.C.⁶²

In the *Corpus Hippocraticum* gynaecology and the anatomy of the female reproductive organs are reasonably, if partially, understood⁶³. In the second half of the 4th century B.C. the anatomy of the uterus was also studied by

⁵⁷ Fenelli 1975, pp.217-218.

⁵⁸ Fenelli 1975, pl.XL:7, XL:8; from Veio Campetti: *NS* 1973, pp.242-244, figs.119-120. The external female genital organ is always rendered, unlike the male genital, rather sketchily.

⁵⁹ Found in hundreds at the sanctuary of Hera in Poseidonia: Sestieri 1955, p.39. Together with the uteri, numerous female half statues, of the lower part of the body, with a pregnant belly, were retrieved.

⁶⁰ Fenelli 1975, p.220; Curatolo 1901, p.90, fig.26; Holländer 1902, pp.192-193, fig.102; Rouquette P. 'Les ex voto médicaux d'organes internes dans l'Antiquité Romaine.' *Bull.Soc.Franc.Hist.Méd.* XI, 1912, pp.270-287, 370-414; Tabanelli 1962, p.74, nos.6,7,8.

⁶¹ Wells 1964, p.267, no.34.

⁶² Sigerist 1961, II, pp.101-103, nos.59-55, pp.287-290; Pazzini A. 'Il pensiero greco di Alcmeone il Crotoniate secondo le fonti dossografiche.' *MemLinc* VIII,VII, Roma 1963, p.2ff.

⁶³ Sigerist. 1961, p.260ff.; Radicchi R. 'L'ostetricia, la ginecologia, la pediatria nelle opere ippocratiche.' *Scientia Veterum*, NS XVIII, no.125, pp.35-150; Radicchi R. 'La medicina ostetrico-ginecologica e pediatria nella civiltà greca.' *Maternità e infanzia* 1970, II, pp.44-58.

Diocles of Carystus⁶⁴, Praxagoras of Cos⁶⁵ and Erophilos⁶⁶. This indicates that already by that date the female genital organs were well known and studied. However, we can not assume that medical knowledge was available to the craftsman modelling the anatomical votives. It is more likely that the artisan manufactured an object corresponding to the traditional idea of how the organ looked. This could explain a certain "artistic" freedom of representation that has puzzled scholars for decades.

Maria Fenelli in her study points to the difficulty of interpreting the significance of *these votive offers* in relation to the various characteristics represented⁶⁷. Most significantly: is the uterus (particularly when rendered with the neck wide and open) intended to indicate a pregnant woman approaching birth and making the offer for propitiatory reasons?⁶⁸ Or was this way of illustrating the organ just conventional without any significant anatomical relevance? In this case the offer could be interpreted merely as a plea to the divinity for fertility⁶⁹. The models showing the lateral appendices, can also suggest different intentions on the part of the donor according to the interpretation given, as ovary or cist. As a cist this addition to the organ acquires an obvious healing connotation, either as request for a cure or acknowledgement of recovery. As an ovary the fertility implication is evident⁷⁰. Venereal gonorrhoea was also

⁶⁴ Only fragments of text: Willman M. *Die Fragmente d. sikelischen. Ärzte*. 1901.

⁶⁵ Only fragments of text: Steckerl F. 'The fragments of Praxagoras of Cos and his school.' *Philosophia Antiqua* VIII, Leiden 1958.

⁶⁶ Celsus *De med.*, 23-24; Galen of Pergamum *De dissect. uteri*, IV; La Torre 1917, p.119ff.

⁶⁷ Fenelli 1975, pp.223-224.

⁶⁸ Tabanelli 1962, p.73; Sambon 1895, p.9.

⁶⁹ Thomasson 1961, p.137.

⁷⁰ The case for the ovary can be further complicated by the theory concerning the sex of the fetus. According to ancient medical belief, still credited until the Renaissance, in the left side of the uterus was conceived the female fetus, in the right side the male. Therefore, the presence of a right or left ovary on the uterus model may imply a request for a male or female child. For the ancient theory on sex: Censorinus *De die natali* VI, 6-8; Galen *De semine* II, 5; Galen *De usu partium* XIV, 6-7; Nardi 1938.

common amongst women, a disease which caused pelvic abscess and eventual sterility due to the blocking of the Fallopian tubes⁷¹.

The heads have often been interpreted as a generic offering symbolising the donor. This can, of course, frequently be the case : however, there are other possibilities⁷². Headache is one of the most common symptoms of a number of ailments. Particularly relevant is malaria a disease that caused much misery to the population of areas of central Italy until the early part of this century. Fever and headache are typical of cerebral malaria, causing much suffering and ultimately death. Migraine was, then as now, a debilitating condition. An interesting characteristic, from our point of view, of the headaches caused by migraines is that they often occur only on one side of the head⁷³. This could account, in some cases, for the presence of half-heads, common in most votive deposits.

Other diseases not graphically representable, such as arthritis, may have been at the origin of some anatomical dedications. This infirmity attacks the spine, the knees, hands and feet; paleopathological evidence from the excavation of cemeteries has demonstrated that most ancient communities suffered from some form of osteoarthritis⁷⁴.

Skin diseases are also difficult to interpret; nevertheless, as the largest organ of the human body, we must assume that they were widespread. Many of the anatomical models, hands, feet, limbs, heads etc., may be attributable to ailments such as scabies, psoriasis, allergic rashes, lesions or fungal infections, acne, ulcers and warts.

The list of possibilities is almost limitless. The living conditions, the lack in hygienic practices and knowledge of germ transmission, must have been conducive to a high level of dermatological diseases and infestations. This must

⁷¹ Potter 1985, p.43.

⁷² As convincingly conjectured for the votive deposit at Ponte di Nona: Potter 1985, pp.41-44.

⁷³ The etymology of the word is: *Hemi-crania*.

⁷⁴ Potter 1985, p.42.

be born in mind when nothing on the appearance of the votives hints to a specific affliction.

Medical interpretation of the anatomical terracottas is often plausible but rarely, if ever, certain. Typological examination and study of these objects is not going to answer any questions; only future archaeological discoveries, cultural or epigraphical, could help to illuminate this subject.

Chapter 5

THE SANCTUARY AND THE WORSHIPPERS

I Types of sanctuaries

The sociological and economic relationship that existed in antiquity between the city and the countryside, between the settlement pattern and the agricultural areas, between rural traditions and cultural development, is a topic that has been intensely investigated lately but that still remains rather patchy¹. In her study on the healing cults of Etruria, in the period from the 4th to the 1st centuries B.C., Ingrid Edlund draws a clear distinction between sacred places in nature (springs, groves, mountain tops, caves) and sacred places associated with a settlement, using the archaeological evidence plus the knowledge of the ancient and rural religion².

In the first instance the sacred place existed independently of human settlements or specific groups of people and political structure of society, providing a continuity of cult evidenced through the votive offerings which could be traced back to prehistoric times.

The second type of sanctuary indicates a place dedicated to the gods by man. The site, according to its location, can be defined as urban (within the settlement), extra-mural (just outside the settlement boundaries) or extra-urban (well outside the settlements but dependent from it).

¹ Sereni 1955; Gordon Riedeman D. *The evidence for the Survival of Italian Agricultural Cult.* Diss. University of Wisconsin 1968; Potter 1978; Barker 1981; Edlund 1987. The changes in the landscape in recent years caused by road-building, irrigation systems etc., have resulted in the complete levelling of hills where ancient sites were manifested through surface finds only a few years ago. This is particularly the case in certain areas of southern Italy which had remained virtually untouched over the centuries: Adamesteanu 1974, pp.78-80.

² Edlund in Linders-Nordquist 1987, p.53; also further discussed in Edlund 1987, chs.I-II.

In addition there are rural sanctuaries and shrines, often suggested exclusively by the presence of isolated find spots of altars or votive deposits. They also are frequently found in places considered sacred because of natural features such as springs. Unlike the extra-urban and extra-mural sanctuaries, which were under the jurisdiction of the city, the rural sanctuaries, not essentially limited to a single community, were instituted and used by the peasantry and related to cults concerned with men, crops and animal welfare³. In fact these sanctuaries may have served the rural population as gathering places for a multiplicity of purposes.

II Identification and location of sanctuaries

The identification of a sacred place is often relying solely on the presence of a few votive objects. It is often impossible to assign a specific place to a specific divinity. In the case of sanctuaries placed on mountain tops, the awesome location, where man becomes aware of the divine presence, strikes an obvious connection between sacred places in nature and the gods. It is assumed that sanctuaries on mountains were associated with a divinity of power and the elements, those placed by springs with a cult of healing and sacred groves with divinities protecting life and nature.

Rome was on the boundary between Etruscan and Latin traditions; the plan and decoration of the Archaic temples in Rome is Etruscan, as is the origin for the tradition of sacred groves and springs in Roman religion. This Etruscan background is a determining factor in the development of extra-urban and rural sanctuaries throughout Italy from 400 B.C. to the early Empire. At the same time, the pattern of sacred places in the Roman Republic was also dependent on the traditions of Magna Graecia and the interactions between the Greeks and non-Greek inhabitants there.

Because of the tenacity of the religious traditions and the old patterns of life, it is not surprising to find that the location of a temple is often explained by the

³ Because of the chance discovery of many of the deposits, we often lack information on stratigraphy and find context. The deposits that can be placed topographically, however, give an idea of the variety of such sites which once existed in great number throughout central and southern Italy.

presence of a previous cult in the same spot⁴. The development of major urban settlements such as Veii, Caere and Tarquinia, determined the creation and location of new sanctuaries, while sacred places already in existence continued to be used.

In some cases historical events decided the foundation of new sanctuaries. At Pyrgi the political situation of Caere in the middle of the 6th century B.C., induced its ruler, *Thefarie Velienas*, who wished to ingratiate himself with Carthage through the cult of Uni-Astarte, to build a temple dedicated to the goddess in that locality.

The establishment of permanent settlements inevitably dictated a more defined frame-work also for the places of worship with a space designated sacred by man and marked out⁵. Vitruvius gives a detailed and accurate description of where and why specific cults had to be worshipped in relation to the topography of a Roman city⁶. Jupiter, Juno and Minerva, for example, had their temples at the highest location in the city, Mercury in the Forum, Apollo and Bacchus near the theatre, Hercules by the circus and gymnasia, Mars and Venus at extra-mural sites, at the training ground and the harbour, Vulcan and Ceres at extra-urban localities etc. The location of sanctuaries outside the city often reflects ancient local traditions of cult, pre-dating the urban settlement.

III Evidence for healing cults

Within these different forms of sanctuaries the evidence for healing cults is often tied to certain natural features, as well as to man-made ones, most manifestly water⁷. When water, in the form of springs, channels and basins is found in combination with anatomical votives the healing aspect of the

⁴ Edlund 1987, pp.36, 42; Pugliese Carratelli 1962, pp.241-246.

⁵ Edlund 1987, p.37. This development and the concept behind it is well explained in: Turner 1979.

⁶ Vitruvius *De Arch.* I.7 - 2.

⁷ Although the presence of water at a sanctuary site may simply indicate that it was used for purification, or as a boundary between the sacred and secular areas: Pfiffig 1975, pp.269-271; Burkert 1977, pp.130-135; Edlund in Linders-Nordquist 1987, p.54.

sanctuary's cult, generally connected also with fertility, is convincing⁸. In most cases it is likely that healing was just one of the aspects of the cult.

The anatomical votives are present in most types of sanctuaries, whether at sacred places in nature or at monumental urban temples. The healing aspect of the cult becomes apparent in most sanctuaries in the 4th century B.C., in conjunction with the emergence of the anatomical terracottas, often at already established sanctuaries, as an added religious function⁹. The presence of the anatomical votives emphasises this side of the cult. However, it does not necessarily presuppose that the healing aspect was new to the sanctuary, rather that it acquired new importance.

IV The votive deposits

The types of votive offerings donated to the gods can sometimes help to identify the receiving divinity. More often they simply document the existence of a place of cult otherwise unknown, due to the lack of other features on the ground. The original meaning of the term *stips votiva* indicates specifically a gift of coins (*aes rude*). Purposely dug out pits, or *favissae*, were used as ritually defined areas where votive offerings were placed, due to the destruction of the sanctuary or to the lack of space in the rooms, or precincts, designated for their storage¹⁰. When pits of this kind are recovered there is little doubt of the presence of a sanctuary on the site, although a deposit is more often marked simply by a few scattered objects on the ground. The possibility that such finds may mark the remains of a dwelling or commercial depot cannot be excluded; in the case of the votive terracottas local production centres could accumulate large quantities of objects ready to be sold and distributed¹¹.

⁸ Banti 1943, pp.187-224. Banti disputes that all temple "pools" or basins are for healing purposes; more likely they were utilised as water containers for the use of the priests and worshippers.

⁹ Rather than an independent cult: Edlund in Linder-Norquist 1987, p.55.

¹⁰ Hackens T. 'Favisae' in *Études Etrusco-Italiques*. Louvain 1963, pp.71-99; Carettoni 'Stipe' in *EAA*, VII, 1966, pp.500-503; Wachsmuth D. in *Der Kleine Pauly*, V, 1975, pp.1355-1359; Pfiffig 1975, pp.85-88; Edlund 1987, p.135.

¹¹ Edlund 1987, p.135.

V The appearance and disappearance of the anatomical votives

In Italy, the evidence for the healing cults suggest a tradition in which the place of cult was directly tied to the form of worship practised¹². The healing cults of central and southern Italy can be documented primarily through the different types of votive offerings.

The votive deposits and scattered groups of finds dating from the 6th and 5th centuries B.C., contain mostly bronze and terracotta statuettes of divinities and worshippers that cannot be associated with a specific healing cult. In the early 4th century B.C. the common types of anatomical votives in terracotta appear on most sanctuary sites. Their presence outnumbers other types of offerings, indicating that the physical welfare of individual men, women and children took precedence over other concerns. The terracotta heads suggest a new interest in the personal and individual aspect of human life and the anatomical models suggest a form of worship different from that illustrated by the figurines, in bronze and terracotta, of the preceding period. "The use of the finest of the urban temples for the healing cults shows that the citizens as a whole were concerned with these forms of religious practices."¹³. However, these mass-produced votive terracottas are the offerings of the more modest classes of society¹⁴, furthermore they must be considered as a typical expression of the rural population, even when found at urban sanctuaries.

In Sicily and southern Italy, particularly Campania, terracotta votives portraying the divinity, both in funeral and votive contexts, were offered since the archaic period. If the tradition of offering busts and statues is documented in Campania much earlier than in central Italy, the use of heads and anatomical terracottas is little documented in Campania prior to the period of romanisation¹⁵. At Capua, the earlier examples of votive heads are dated to the

¹² Edlund in Linders-Nordquist 1987, p.53.

¹³ Edlund in Linders-Nordquist 1987, p.56.

¹⁴ Pensabene 1980, pp.46-51; Steingraber 1981, pp.246-249; *Roma medio Repubblicana*, pp.138-139.

¹⁵ Bonghi Jovino 1965, pp.26-38; Bonghi Jovino 1971, pp.46-60.

4th century B.C., contemporary to the ones from Latium, Etruria and Samnium¹⁶.

It is only in the 4th century B.C., after the conquest of Veii by Rome in the year 396 B.C., that this practice becomes popular in the whole of the Etrusco-Latium-Campanian area. Rome indirectly played a vital role in the propagation of this practice. In the late 4th and early 3rd centuries B.C. the votive deposits of this type grow more numerous within the territories under Roman jurisdiction, due to the new prosperity of the social classes that worshipped and offered at the sanctuaries. In the areas bordering with Latium, votive heads are found at Trebula Mutuesca, Carsoli and Alba Fucens. The first place comes under Roman influence in 291 B.C., the other two become Latin colonies respectively in 291 and 303 B.C. In Apulia a considerable deposit of votive heads was at the sanctuary at Lucera, Latin colony from 314 B.C. In the Samnium votive heads are very rarely found, the Frentani seem to be little interested in Latin culture and traditions, in spite of the fact that they had been made *socii* since 304 B.C.¹⁷ In the area inhabited by the Pentri terracotta heads are far more frequently found in votive deposits, possibly due to the proximity of Campania¹⁸.

Votive deposits including terracotta heads and anatomical replicas are also found scattered on both sides of the Apennines, in central and southern Italy, in the territories that, since prehistoric times, were the traditional setting for *transumanza*, the semi-nomadic stock-farming based on seasonal movements of grazing animals from plains to high mountain pastures. These farming populations had fixed settlements but also moved around with their stock, performing, at the same time, an important role of transmission of cultural themes through easily transportable objects acquired during the seasonal migrations. The most common function for these items was votive. They were, presumably, obtained at the more developed urban centres, destined to a final

¹⁶ Bonghi Jovino 1971, pp.34-65.

¹⁷ La Regina 1980, p.41.

¹⁸ Comella 1981, pls.123, 127, 128, 129; La Regina 1980, pp.154-161, 262-268, 360-369.

location in the rural sanctuaries dedicated to cults of nature, near springs and pastures, and, possibly, at crossroads.

VI The historical background

The sudden, considerable emergence of this class of votives at already established sanctuaries, suggests the influence of the political expansion of Rome in Italy. The sanctuaries themselves represent continuity within an, otherwise, changing political situation. The disappearance of these objects in the 2nd-1st centuries B.C. can be explained, in part, by the institutionalisation of Roman religious hegemony. The Romans had learned from the Etruscans the importance of the alliance between the civic and the religious centres, expressed by the introduction of the Roman Capitolium as the main temple in the Roman colonies over the indigenous cults¹⁹. The major difference between Etruscan and Roman religious traditions is in the latter's more abstract quality of worship, resulting in a shortage of votive offerings, particularly the type of anatomical votive terracottas²⁰.

In the 4th century B.C. Rome was largely an agricultural state, with a strong prominence of the rural population, also in political terms, over the urban population. Although the basis for the formation of the *Ager Publicus*, and of the large landed properties run with the slave system, had already been set, small property farms were predominant. In Etruria and Latium there is convincing evidence for a gradual intensification of rural settlements during the Republican period. From the early 4th century B.C., most of the land was under cultivation supporting a very large farming population. The Roman conquest of these areas had set a pattern of development: urban decentralisation combined with rural growth²¹. Many of the urban settlements suffered a major decline in this period, the sanctuaries nonetheless continued to

¹⁹ Edlund in Linders-Nordquist 1987, p.65.

²⁰ They exist in Rome at sites such as the temple of Minerva Medica on the Esquiline and from the Tiber in connection with the sanctuary to Aesculapius on the Isola Tiberina.

²¹ Potter 1979, pp.96, 101, 120.

prosper and were possibly regarded as a place of affiliation for the rural population like, for example at Falerii Veteres²².

The givers of the terracotta votives were essentially from this class of small farmers and their workers. Every aspect of life connected with health and fertility was of paramount importance to them for everyday survival and prosperity. The limited votive material from Rome itself comes mostly from the deposits at the Pons Fabricius related to the great sanctuary of Aesculapius and from Minerva Medica on the Esquiline, which may have been patronised by Roman farmers coming into the city on the occasion of political assemblies, when their vote was required²³. The presence of this class of votives at the urban and extra-urban temples in Etruria, Latium and Campania can be explained by the strong ties that the towns, in these areas, had with the surrounding countryside and its population.

The fall in the number of terracotta heads and anatomical votives in the second half of the 2nd-early 1st centuries B.C., coincide with the next social change in rural and urban population. This change follows the desertion of the countryside and the creation in Rome of a very poor substratum of population, dependent for survival from state help and clientship. The busy network of small farmsteads was replaced (with the exception of Campania and north Italy) by few huge landed properties worked by a population of slaves.

An interesting example is offered by the votive deposit at the "*Tenuta della Bufalotta*", in the north-east of Rome, between the Via Salaria and Nomentana²⁴. A number of anatomical votives have been recovered at the site, including female heads of a type found in the 4th, but particularly in the 3rd centuries B.C. in Latium and Campania²⁵, closely related to types of heads in

²² Potter 1979, pp.99-101.

²³ One would otherwise expect them as common place at most other religious sites in and around the city. Pensabene 1979, p.221; Pensabene 1980, pp.43-51.

²⁴ Quilici Gigli 1981, pp.77-97.

²⁵ Bartoloni 1970, pp.259-261; Vagnetti 1971, pp.48-49; Gatti Lo Guzzo 1978, p.88, group G type II; Pensabene 1980, p.200; Baglione 1976, pp.164-165, 184; La Regina in *Lavinium* 1975, p.206, no.34, p.251.

the BM's collection²⁶. The material retrieved does not enable an identification of the local cult; the presence of the anatomical votives suggest an healing cult but no specialisation is perceived. The use of the sanctuary lasted from the 3rd to the first half of the 2nd centuries B.C., the period of most significant participation of the lower classes to the life of the rural sanctuaries, but at the same time the beginning of the phase of depopulation of the Roman countryside. This situation was particularly serious in the area of the sanctuary in question, far from an urban centre and remote from any local community. At that time nearby rural centres, such as *Crustumerium*, were deserted and the population was redistributed towards more appealingly urbanised towns and to Rome itself²⁷. The density of the rural settlements in the 3rd century B.C. appear already reduced in proportion to the earlier period, to decline even further in the 2nd century B.C. In these circumstances the sanctuary must have represented an important meeting place for the scattered inhabitants of the abandoned countryside, when the occasions and possibilities for social gathering must have been very limited.

The creation of the latifund system was encouraged by wars, particularly the second Punic war, and the resulting drafting into the army of the small farmers that, with time, turned into professional soldiers. Another contributing factor to the impoverishment of the farming population in central Italy, was the import of cheap grain from the Provinces which put many small farmers out of business. This situation favoured the major landowners who absorbed the smaller properties and that could, with the capital at their disposal, invest in more productive and efficient crops and animal grazing²⁸.

Another factor which caused great changes in the social structure of the Italic populations and the complete disintegration of the middle and lower classes, were the civil wars. The extension of Roman citizenship to all the Italic populations promoted and favoured religious assimilation, as part of the

²⁶ Inv.no.108527, now in the Museo Nazionale Romano: Quilici Gilgli 1981, fig.2, of the same type as F4c.

²⁷ Such as Fidenae, the modern Castel Giubileo, on the Via Salaria. Fidenae was, in early republican time, a frequent rival of Rome for the control of a river crossing on the Tiber, but after 390 B.C., Fidenae lost much of its importance.

²⁸ Pensabene 1979, p.222.

process of romanization. This must have caused the small local cults to lose the support of the ruling classes in favour of state cults. In some cases the sanctuaries were closed, as happened to the Samnite sanctuary at Pietrabbondante²⁹. On the other hand, the Latin cities faithful to Rome saw their old sanctuaries gain new importance because of this changed social structure. The rich Romans that had chosen the country retreats were the new set of people using the sanctuaries, turning them into something different from their original character. The lower and middle classes, which had previously contributed to the prosperity of the sanctuaries with their modest offers of votives in terracotta, probably in large part produced by workshops within the sanctuary precinct and jurisdiction, gradually disappeared.

However, the ancient indigenous cults never really disappeared and were allowed to continue to exist, in their own small way, in the countryside. In the 4th century A.D. Libanius stated that the sanctuaries were the soul of the countryside because they had existed from the very beginning and had continued to exist until his own time³⁰. This conservative rural soul of Italy is still embodied in the roadside altars, chapels and churches which in many cases are located on the same site of the ancient sacred places³¹.

²⁹ Pensabene 1979, p.222.

³⁰ Libanius *De Templis*, 30.9.

³¹ Edlund 1987, p.146.

Chapter 6

STYLISTIC INFLUENCES

Ancient authors assert that the working of terracotta was a distinctive Italic tradition, particularly developed in Etruria¹. The votive terracotta heads, although restricted to the Etruscan-Latium-Campanian geographical area, are an expression of Italic craftsmanship. However, the better knowledge of the vast bulk of Etruscan art production, and the much more limited awareness of contemporary Italic art traditions, are an inescapable burden to the unbiased study of this subject. This unbalance can lead to the temptation of defining as "Etruscan" something not strictly Etruscan and to overlook the importance of specific local traditions dismissing certain forms as primitive, or crude, or simply imitative.

Pre-Roman Italy lacked ethnic, cultural and historical unity, therefore the evaluation of the artistic expression as "Italic" art or art of "pre-Roman Italy" can only be made taking into consideration the various artistic forms and trends within that geographical area². Assessing the stylistic characteristics of the votive terracotta heads and busts, it must be born in mind that they represent an expression of popular art, rather than an intellectually advanced artistic accomplishment³.

¹ Chapter 9; Pliny, *NII*, XXXV, 156-157.

² Bianchi Bandinelli-Giuliano 1985; Pallottino 1985.

³ Felletti Maj in her major work on Italic traditions and Roma art, rejects the term *arte popolare* in favour of *arte Italica*, for geographical reasons: Felletti Maj 1977, p.32.

I Pre-Roman: Etruria

Whereas in Greece the 5th century B.C. sanctioned the highest point of political and cultural development, in central Italy the power of the great Etruscan cities of the Tyrrhenian coast disintegrated. The strong ties with the hellenic world, which had existed prior to this period, fade out and Etruria endured a period of isolation⁴. Nonetheless the motives and forms of the Greek Classical art managed to filter through, mostly as isolated imagery and decorative compositions. For their models, more than ever, the local workshops had to rely largely on the circulation of small objects, particularly painted vases and small bronzes, as major sculptural pieces in bronze reached the coastal cities in very limited number.

However, for the earlier expression of Classical figurative art, the Severe style, Etruria still had enough contact with the Greek centres to allow the local artists to develop a distinctive trend, in line with the works of mainland Greece and Magna Graecia. The cosmopolitan and cultured centres of southern Italy contributed considerably to the transmission of the themes of the early Classical style, which became so deeply rooted into Etruscan figurative conventions to outlive the style itself in the Greek world, conferring to some local productions a deceptive appearance of antiquity⁵.

Some of the best surviving Classical sculpture from Etruria, close to the hellenic standard, is in terracotta⁶. Figurative terracottas, funerary, architectural and votive, experienced the influence of the new Classical style in the second half of the 5th century B.C. The finest finds come from inland sites of central Italy such Veii, Orvieto, Falerii. At this period the central areas experienced a growing cultural importance, in contrast to the decadence of the Tyrrhenian coastal district. Terracotta figures and heads show, at times, excellent execution and harmonious adherence to Attic and Tarentine models, as can be seen on

⁴ As the discontinuing import of Attic ceramics attests.

⁵ As can be seen on head F2a; Mansuelli 1968, pp.73-84.

⁶ Bearing in mind that most of the large bronze statuary has disappeared and that in Etruria, unlike Greece, there is no marble sculpture, stone being confined to funerary use.

two pediment heads, one from the temple of Via San Leonardo at Orvieto⁷ and one, also possibly from Orvieto, in the British Museum⁸. In other instances good technical emulation of Greek types can be observed. One such example is a pedimental head from the temple of *Lo Scasato* at Falerii⁹. One head from a Veientine votive statue, the so-called "Malavolta" head, shows, besides a certain Polycletan character and Tarentine connections, an independent, personal sensitivity¹⁰. Etruscan 5th century sculpture revealing artistic trends influenced by Tarentine sculpture, have been pointed out by Sprenger¹¹ and others¹².

Very relevant for its influence on votive terracottas is also the anthropomorphic funerary art of Chiusi, echoing Greek art in details but creating a totally distinctive regional effect. The figures on Chiusine ash urns and sarcophagi hint also to south Italian influence, as closely similar facial types and hairstyles are found on Tarentine terracottas¹³.

The 4th century B.C. was a time of great struggle and unrest for the Italian peninsula, under mounting pressure in Etruria from Roman expansion to the north and, south in Campania and Apulia, from the Samnite war. The audacious Gallic raids, reaching as far as Rome, added further tension. During the 4th century B.C. Roman expansionism undermined severely Etruscan independence. Etruria suffered the destruction of Veii by the Romans in 396 B.C. and the sack of Pyrgi by the Syracusans in 384 B.C. The case of Caere is typical: the city was an ally of Rome in 386 B.C., by 270 B.C. she became a Roman dominion. Before the end of the century, one by one, the Etruscan states fell under Roman control. From the 3rd to the 2nd centuries B.C. Etruria

⁷ Andren 1940, pp.159-161, pls.59-60; Sprenger 1972, pp.57-58, pls.XXVIII, 1, XXIX, 1-2; Girardon 1992, pp.226-227.

⁸ Girardon 1992, pp.225-229, pls.I-II.

⁹ Santangelo 1948, pp.1-16; Sprenger 1972, pp.47-48, pl.XX, 1.

¹⁰ Sprenger 1972, pp.35-36, pl.X, 1.

¹¹ Sprenger 1972, p.46.

¹² *Prima Italia* 1981, p.107.

¹³ In the Catalogue: Group 2.

was gradually cut out from international trade routes. The Tyrrhenian commerce became virtually Roman and the economic foundation of the Etruscan cities converted to agriculture.

Notwithstanding the political crises, the great Etruscan cities renewed their cultural exchanges with the Greek world, becoming once again very receptive towards the elements of Greek art of the later Classical period. The whole of Etruria grew very active in the artistic field, still maintaining regional differences but showing a definite unity of artistic language. The hellenic element is mostly employed in a decorative manner but in the various centres active local workshops show distinctive characteristics, particularly in the funerary and votive production. In these fields a specific difference can be perceived between the artistic ways of the Greek world, more cosmopolitan and hellenizing, and the Etruscan perception, tending towards the realities of life in a more domestic fashion.

The Apulian, and above all the Tarentine, influence in Etruria continued during the 4th and 3rd centuries B.C. Tarentum served as a place of transition for diverse artistic styles between the eastern Hellenistic spheres, Asia Minor and Alexandria and central Italy¹⁴. The link between Apulia and Etruria also appears to be reciprocal. Artistic trends and inspiration were going from north to south, not only from south to north, via specific, often minor, elements suggesting the use of itinerant artisans of foreign origin or foreign training¹⁵. This indicates a continuity of contacts between the two Italic regions from the 5th through the 4th and 3rd centuries B.C. These contacts were maintained independently of the growing influence and power of Rome, regardless of the defeat of Tarentum in 272 B.C. and the decadence of the Etruscan cities.

II In central and southern Italy

The role played by the Greek colonies of Magna Graecia is fundamental for the propagation of Classical and Hellenistic themes and art forms. The period

¹⁴ Guzzo 1987, pp.35-40.

¹⁵ For example the spread over a large geographical area of the typically Etruscan-Italic hairstyles shown on several votive terracotta heads of Apulian style as described in the Catalogue: Group 4.

between the mid-8th and the early 5th centuries B.C. witnessed the establishment of the Greek colonies in southern Italy and the assimilation by the local Italic populations of hellenic motifs that, at times, blended with the indigenous traditions, originating local art forms.

During the mid-4th century B.C. the populations of Apulia and Campania became acquainted for the first time with Macedonian culture. Hellenistic Greek culture had a momentous effect on Italic and Etruscan art scene, the catalyst being Magna Graecia, in particular Tarentum and Campania. These regions, already deeply hellenised from the middle of the 4th century B.C., became very receptive to the character of Macedonian culture, partly owing to the political situation¹⁶, partly due to direct artistic contacts¹⁷. Tarentum was very active in the production of figurative terracottas, some of high artistic quality and of thorough Hellenistic character. The Hellenistic civilization was assimilated, first and foremost, at Tarentum; from there reached other parts of Italy, Etruria being a particularly fertile ground.

Amongst the local Italic populations Greek culture remained somewhat peripheral. The Apennine regions of central and southern Italy were, at that time, mostly woodlands inhabited by a semi-nomadic population dedicated to grazing sheep and other animals. The seasonal movements of these populations, from valley settlements in the autumn to pastures in spring, favoured the circulation of ideas and artistic production, particularly between the cosmopolitan urban Apulian settlements and Campania¹⁸. Sanctuaries were often placed along the migration routes, near springs, pastures, crossroads. It must have been common for these shepherds to carry along small and easily transportable objects, small bronzes, coins, small terracottas, vases and, probably, also votive terracotta heads and anatomical models. The local artisans would naturally be inspired by the objects, enriching their repertoire with the Hellenistic themes transmitted via such channels to the most remote rural areas.

¹⁶ Alexander I, king of Molossia, solicited by Tarentum in 333 B.C., conquered most of southern Italy.

¹⁷ Lysippus worked in Tarentum for several years.

¹⁸ Chapter 5, paragraph V.

In central Italy and Campania the new artistic trends were adopted for their decorative aspects but the cultural themes were not always fully understood. The production of terracottas, the favourite artistic medium, shows probably some of the best results, but often the outcome is quite different from the original models. In Campania, particularly at Capua, where numerous votive statues, busts and heads in terracotta have been retrieved, behind the hellenic facade the purely local, peasant culture frequently transpires, conferring to the figures, in spite of their crudeness and because of it, a genuinely authentic and unique form of creativity¹⁹.

The detailed work carried out over the years on the Capuan coroplastic material reveals different stylistic influences²⁰ towards whom Capua acted a role of mediator²¹. During the period of Samnite domination, three different trends are distinguished on the Capuan figurative terracottas: the first and second dependent from Greek influence and models from Magna Graecia and Sicily, showing clear hellenising characteristics, the last of purely Italic, local tradition with rigid and inexpressive features. The three tendencies coexist, developing very different productions. On the Greek front, close contacts are attested with Apulia, particularly Tarentum and Canosa²².

It is relevant to outline the results of a recent study on the typological development of a related group of votive heads from Cales, in Campania, comparable to examples in the British Museum's collection²³. Five different types of heads, of related prototypes, are examined; it is apparent that the original model spread into Campania from Magna Graecia, chiefly Tarentum, in

¹⁹ The most astonishing examples are probably two somewhat grotesque terracotta statues of nude standing, frontal figures, one male and one female dated to the mid-3rd century B.C.: Bonghi Jovino 1971, pl.XXXVIII, no.53, 1-2, pl.XXXIX, no.54, 1-2.

²⁰ Bonghi Jovino 1965; Bonghi Jovino 1971; Bedello 1975

²¹ For the Samnite influence on Capuan workshops: Breglia L. "Posizione della Campania nell'arte Italica." *Critica d'Arte* 1942, pp.29f.; D'Agostino B. 'Il mondo periferico della Magna Grecia' *Popoli e civiltà dell'Italia antica*.II. Roma 1974, pp.188f.; Bonghi Jovino in Bonghi Jovino 1990, p.80.

²² Bonghi Jovino 1971, p.2; Bedello 1975, p.19.

²³ Catalogue: Group 4.; Ciaghi S. 'Sulla formazione di una tipologia di teste votive Etrusco-Italiche con particolare riferimento alla produzione Calena.' in Bonghi Jovino 1990, pp.127-145.

the 4th century B.C. From there travelled into Latium and Etruria, where it was modified on the basis of local style and traditions. In turn, within a short space of time, these re-worked types travelled back south on the wave of the Roman expansion in those territories. The types are popular between the end of the 4th and the first half of the 3rd centuries B.C. This "return" is characterised by a number of variations on the types of the votive heads, now removed from the initial models, simpler and provincial in quality.

The products of the local manufacturers show components of 3rd century B.C. Italic Hellenism, distinguished, on one hand by a capillary penetration of the Hellenistic culture, on the other hand by a revival of local traditional forms and a general levelling of quality²⁴. The Hellenistic motives, too remote to be fully understood, were used by the Italic populations more as *ornamentum* than *instrumentum*²⁵. The inability of the artisan was disguised by expedients such as the extensive use of the stecca, to create incisions and details in place of modelling volumes, with an effect at times caricaturist. This Italic world on the periphery of hellenic culture displays a propensity to popularise figurative art in a way that recalls archaic schemes: the frontality of the subject, the heavily rimmed eyes, the tight lips, the decorative linearity of the hair rendering, etc.²⁶. Even when Greek models are imitated, as on the heads and busts from the votive deposits at Capua, Carsoli and Cales, the faces and expressions are altered and deformed.

The élitist culture of the Hellenistic courts of Greece, the East and Magna Graecia, can be emulated rather than assimilated by the Italic middle and lower classes. For them Rome will be a more perceivable model. The advent of Roman cultural hegemony in the south can be epitomised by the conquest of Tarentum in 272 B.C., by the victory of Rome over the Carthaginians and the southern Italian cities allied to Hannibal, at the end of the 3rd century B.C.

²⁴ Falletti Maj 1977, p.45. It is suggested that a uniting factor was played by Roman political hegemony: Falletti Maj 1977, p.51; Ciaghi in Bonghi Jovino 1990, p.144.

²⁵ Bianchi Bandinelli-Giuliano 1985, p.223.

²⁶ This can be noted on Campanian and Tarentine antefixes, as well as on Capuan votive terracottas, and it is believed to be in part the consequence of Umbro-Sabellic infiltrations in the area: Breglia op.cit. 1942, note 14, pp.29f.; Falletti MAJ 1977, p.48; Pallottino 1985, p.99. It is also a characteristic of the Colean heads: Ciaghi in Bonghi Jovino 1990, p.144.

III Roman influence

After the artistic revival of the 4th century B.C., Greek influence in central Italy increases without interruption through the Hellenistic period into the Empire, partly to the expense of the Etrusco-Italic heritage. This situation is favoured by the Roman hegemony, the political unification of southern Italy with the rest of the peninsula and, lastly, by the Roman conquest of Greece and the hellenised East.

This political situation created the foundation for a certain artistic homogeneity throughout central and southern Italy with Apulia and Etruria as focal points, the last, in turn, strongly influenced by Apulian trends²⁷. Also Campania and Latium show quality of styles. There is a strong affinity between the artistic productions of Apulia and Campania, Etruria always seems to be at the receiving end of the exchange²⁸. In Etruria, Latium and Campania it is now possible to see a distinctive cultural unity in art production. However, strong local characteristics and varying quality are still present, particularly in the religious and funerary sphere.

The themes and forms of Hellenism are present on all aspects of local artistic productions. Major, prestigious works, like architectural decoration, show mythological scenes on pediments that are good local adaptations of purely Hellenistic subjects, where the influence of the ever popular art of Lysippus²⁹, or the pathos of the Asiatic school³⁰, are easily perceived. The same forms are present on minor funerary art, votive bronzes, terracottas and ceramic decoration.

²⁷ Falletti Maj 1977, p.55.

²⁸ On the possible role of Campania as intermediary between Tarentum and central Italy: Falletti Maj 1977, p.56.

²⁹ For example a male figure from the tympanum of the temple at Falerii, now in the Villa Giulia Museum, reminiscent of the type of Alexander: Andren 1940, p.125, pl.46; Pallottino 1955, p.26, pl.110.

³⁰ For example a female head of Amazon from Arezzo, now in Florence: Andren 1940, p.273, pl.90; Pallottino 1955, p.26, pl.108.

This common artistic language shows a dual aspect³¹: one of quality adhering to Hellenistic canons, the other of continuity of the Italic tradition. The Italic artisan translated subjects and compositions from Greek art giving them a totally local, often more realistic, interpretation. Votive production, in bronze and terracotta, illustrates best this situation.

The numerous votive deposits of Etrusco-Latium-Campanian type, characteristic common heritage of this Italic tradition, disclose a range of terracotta heads of varying quality, even within the same deposit. For the coroplastic production of Campania, it has been noted that a complex network of contacts between local workshops existed from the 4th to the 2nd centuries B.C., with inter-transmission of models, styles and iconography³². The heads can be artistically inadequate, too small or too large, with physiognomic details or hair details too emphasised but displaying the essence of an ancient culture still strongly felt, particularly by the more traditional rural populations³³. In other instances the heads, both bronzes³⁴ and terracottas, manifest the work of very competent artist-craftsmen, presumably Italic, influenced by Greek-Tarentine styles³⁵. The heads, at times, are suffused of striking individuality and personal interpretation³⁶; others display an imitation of Classical and Hellenistic motives often skilfully executed³⁷.

³¹ The *Ellenismo Italico* of Falletti Maj: Falletti Maj 1977, chapter II, pp.43-58.

³² Bonghi Jovino in Bonghi Jovino 1990, pp.65-96. For example, is revealed the role of the Minturno workshops in the transmission of models to the north; the influence of Caes as a mediator between Rome and Magna Graecia; and that of Capua in the circulation of Cuman, Neapolitan and Apulian-Tarentine models towards Latium, Rome and other Italic centres.

³³ As can be seen on female heads: F5c, FMe, FMf; and male heads MM1, MM2, MM3.

³⁴ Some famous Etruscan votive bronze heads are considered amongst the finest artistic achievements of the period, for example the head of boy in Florence: Giglioli 1935, pl.3666, fig.1; Pallottino 1955, p.29, fig.122; Kaschnitz-Weinberg 1926, pls.I,II, XXIa; Haynes 1985, p.318, pl.190; or the head of man in the Louvre: Giglioli 1935, pl.259; Pallottino 1955, p.29, fig.119; Kaschnitz-Weinberg 1926, pl.XXIb.

³⁵ For example male head: M8c; and female heads: F2h, F2II, F5a, F5b.

³⁶ For example male heads: M8d and M9a.

³⁷ For example male heads: M10a, M13 aI, M14a, M14b, M15a, M15bI, M16a, M16b, M16c, M16d, M17a, and female heads: F6aI and F6bI.

The typically Italic tendency to overdo and schematise is kept under control by the strong Hellenistic influence of the time. Kaschnitz-Weinberg, commenting on the votive terracotta heads in the Vatican collection, claims the Hellenistic influence to be primarily from Asia Minor³⁸. The eastern link is also acknowledged by Falletti Maj; she points to the importance of the Greek cities of Magna Graecia and Sicily as mediators, particularly the influence of Tarentum³⁹.

The Roman expansion into Asia Minor and Rome's close relationship with Pergamon opened the way into Italy to many immigrant artists; the large number of art works brought back from the eastern Mediterranean must undoubtedly have had some influence on the more provincial Italic taste. Not all the war booty from the east was kept in Rome, some of it, for example part of Mummius' spoil from Corinth, was distributed amongst the Municipii. The spoil consisted, not only of contemporary works of art, also of "antiquarian" pieces, possibly seen for the first time in Italy. Next to the new styles, old masterpieces must have influenced the local Italic artisans, likely to follow and imitate the models presented, regardless of their age.

IV Copies of famous sculpture and their relationship with terracottas

The craftsmen producing the votive terracottas may not have had the ability or the means to create completely new prototypes, therefore they used models on which to base their work. These models could be acclaimed masterpieces by great Greek artists or works of indigenous production but well known locally. In some cases it is possible to recognise the models.

It is not certain how the Hellenistic themes and models reach the Italic workshops. During the Classical period ceramics played a fundamental role in the propagation of Greek culture but this is not the case for the Hellenistic period, when the import of vases from Greece was much reduced. One possibility is suggested by Pliny. He relates that the drawings on parchment and

³⁸ Kaschnitz-Weinberg 1925, p.331.

³⁹ Falletti Maj 1977, p.55.

wood of Parrhasius, the late 5th century B.C. painter, were still used by craftsmen in his time⁴⁰. It is plausible that numerous drawings of different periods existed in circulation, copied by various workshops; such objects are also easily transportable⁴¹.

Certainly possible is the circulation of motives by way of miniature sculptural copies of famous masterpieces, easy to move around and inexpensive. A number of the votive heads in the British Museum collection⁴² are dependent stylistically from Greek sculptural models of the 4th century B.C., the art of Lysippus, Praxiteles, Scopas, often fused together according to a process of assimilation that seems to come directly from copies of the original works.

Since the Renaissance historians of ancient art have undertaken to compare surviving sculptures with the descriptions of famous masterpieces of antiquity made by ancient authors. However, surviving originals are few, most of the existing statues are copies of the Roman period. As several copies of the same original have come to light in the 18th and 19th centuries, historians have been forced to recognise that such works are less likely to be creations from the hands of a famous master than the products of copyist ateliers.

A copy, or replica or version, defines a piece of figurative art that deliberately reproduces the most characteristic iconographic features of a known work of art: its pose, composition, proportions, facial type, hairstyle, costume etc.⁴³ It is likely that most famous sculptures were also reproduced as statuettes in miniature and, presumably because of their dimensions, in larger number than full size copies. Of course, while some replicas reproduced the original prototype very accurately, others presumably tended to apply a degree of free interpretation, as the copies must reflect the current taste at the time of manufacture⁴⁴. The aim in producing these miniature copies was to create an

⁴⁰ Pliny, *NII*, XXXV, 68.

⁴¹ Bianchi Bandinelli-Giuliano 1985, pp.305-306.

⁴² M16a; M16b; M16c; M16d.

⁴³ Bartman 1992, p.9.

⁴⁴ Elizabeth Bartman on this issue writes: "Although most copies aimed at reproducing specific statuary models, they did so according to no fixed, canonical formula. Varying factors- technical, formal, and ideological- influenced the copyist in his interpretation of the

object whose model, or prototype, could be recognised without difficulty by the buyers.

With replicas in general it is evident that a single sculptural original stands behind a series of related copies, at times of rather different appearance, as can be clearly seen amongst the votive heads⁴⁵. Miniature copies were made of a number of materials: terracotta, bronze, marble, ivory and precious stones and metals. Many small copies must have had a votive purpose and miniature copies of cult statues found at sanctuary sites are interpreted as votive offerings. Replicas of famous masterpieces were also placed at public buildings such as theatres and baths. It is believed that in the mid-3rd century B.C. the fashion of embellishing buildings with luxury items, like sculpture, was extended from the Eastern Royal palaces to the private residences.

It is likely that a considerable number of reproduction statuettes were brought back to Italy as souvenirs from Greece and Asia Minor, promoting the free circulation of the models and their popularity amongst all classes of society. The circulation of such miniature copies of Greek works must have helped the propagation of Hellenistic culture and artistic styles, replacing, in part, native Italic forms and eventually invading Roman visual arts and society as a whole.

Certain elements within the study of the British Museum's collection of votive terracotta heads, seem to suggest that miniature sculptural copies played a not insignificant role in the propagation of prototypes in the Classical and Hellenistic period. A singular case is represented by the male head M16d, an evident elaboration of the type of the Azara Herm. However, its closest parallel is a small marble copy in the Greco-Roman Museum in Alexandria⁴⁶. Two more examples are male head M13aI, very similar to the small bronze Roman copy of the Herakles of Polycleitos in the Barracco Museum in Rome⁴⁷, and female

sculptural model and permitted the replica considerable individuality....Copies in miniature demonstrate formal diversity no less than their larger counterparts; while there are indeed some obvious "miniaturist" solutions, miniature copies are by no means sculptural clones of one another." Bartman 1992, p.187.

⁴⁵ For example between male heads M15a and M15bI.

⁴⁶ Catalogue, Group 16.

⁴⁷ Catalogue, Group 13.

head F5a, based on the portrait of Corinna by Silanion as on a terracotta statuette in Compiègne⁴⁸.

Some workshops produced bronzes and terracottas: the most striking example is afforded by the close resemblance between a popular group of female Caeretan heads, represented in the BM's collection by F2a and by a series of smaller heads, like F2bI, with a small votive bronze bust from the Carpegna Collection in the Vatican Library⁴⁹. The fine bronze, of Etruscan production, must be a local copy of a, now lost, well-known work. In this case however, the prototype could be Etruscan rather than Greek.

⁴⁸ Catalogue, Group 5.

⁴⁹ Catalogue, Group 2.

Chapter 7

JEWELLERY

I The jewellery types on the votive heads

The classes and types of jewellery considered in this section are exclusively those represent on the female votive heads in the catalogue.

<u>Crown/ Wreath</u>	F2a; F2h
<u>Diadem</u>	F3aI; F3aII; F4g; F4a; F3a; F5a; F5b; F5c
<u>Earring</u>	F6aI; F4m; F4l; F2II; F2j; F4dII; F7a; F4dI; F4c; F2II: F2h; F2a; F2m; F7b; F3c; F4b; F5a; F3b
<u>Necklace</u>	F6aI; F4dI; F4g; F4c; F2a; F3c; F4b; F3b; F5c

The female heads and busts display a rich variety of jewellery including types based on Greek as well as local prototypes. Most types can be paralleled with examples from Greece and Magna Graecia dated from the 4th to the 2nd centuries B.C. The Etruscan types have their origin in the 5th and early 4th centuries B.C.

Amongst the BM's votive heads, the most carefully reproduced examples of jewellery are the Etruscan ones, the bullae necklace and the horseshoe,

grappolo earrings¹, which are applied separately by the use of a specific mould² (earrings on heads F2a and F2h) or by a stamp (necklace on head F2a).

The most popular category of jewellery are the earrings and the necklace; the diadem and the crown, objects invested of a much higher status and religious significance, are less freely represented. Due to the nature of the material in the catalogue, bracelets and finger rings are absent³.

II Jewellery in Greece

The jewellery displayed on the votive heads have consistent parallels in contemporary examples from Etruria and South Italy. The same types are also present in funerary contexts, represented on sarcophagi, ash urns and frescos, on vase painting and mirrors. Most of these types are fairly common and well documented in the Greek world, from where fashions spread to central Italy via Magna Graecia.

The propagation of the Orientalizing art of the 7th century B.C. in the Greek mainland, islands and cities of Asia Minor, enriched the Greek decorative repertoire and promoted a taste for luxury attested by the jewellery of the period. The situation changed in the later 6th century B.C. when a new political and social situation ensued. The promulgation of laws, such as the sumptuary laws by Zaleucus of Locri, limited the "antisocial" display of wealth by the richer classes, forbidding all women, except *hetairai*, to wear jewels and richly decorated garments, and men from carrying gold finger rings⁴. Pisistratus, in Athens, is believed to have decreed laws against the richness in grave offerings,

¹ This has been suggested before for a group of votive heads from Caere: Nagy 1988 p.293. It is significant that heads in the British Museum showing the same type of jewellery may also be from Caere, in concordance with the statement made by Briguet, according to whom Caere was one of the main Etruscan centres for the production of jewellery, especially in the 4th century B.C.: Briguet M.F. *La revue du Louvre* 1974, p.250.

² Andren 1955-56, p.207ff.

³ The few possible examples of statues, where bracelets and rings could have been represented, are broken below the head.

⁴ Mühl M. 'Die Gesetze des Zaleukos und Charondas in Klio ' *Beiheft* XXII, 1929, p.105ff, in particular p.122 note 1.

as reported by Cicero⁵, a situation possibly confirmed by the modest finds from Athenian cemeteries of the first half of the 5th century B.C.⁶ In mainland Greece jewellery style reflects this desire for simplicity.

Greek Art of the 5th century B.C., particularly Attic art, established a common artistic language throughout the hellenised Mediterranean regions. Etruria experienced a profound influence from the Hellenic world; Greek motives are reproduced but interpreted for the Etruscan taste.

If few are the items of jewellery recovered from Greece during the Classical period, literary and epigraphical sources account for its variety and quality. Famous artist working on gold created ornaments for statues, necklaces and earrings, their presence often revealed by perforations in the earlobes or on the neck for attachment. Lists of votive offerings in precious metal and jewellery, have been retrieved from several sanctuaries, like Tanagra and Delos⁷. These inventories list most of the jewellery types of the Classical period.

III The role of Tarentum

From the end of the 5th century B.C. the prototypes of Greek jewels became common all over the hellenised regions, next to the products of local character. In the 4th century B.C. and during the Hellenistic period, local taste and traits developed more and more into specialised productions: the Greek style is more unadulterated in Sicily and south Italy, more provincial in the Etruscan and central Italian areas.

Tarentum is the most active centre of jewellery production in Magna Graecia from the last quarter of the 4th to the 2nd century B.C. Already in the 5th century B.C. a local industry must have existed, but it was indistinguishable from the main Greek production, stylistically and in the technique of

⁵ Cicero, *de Legibus*, II, 26, 64.

⁶ Richter 1944, p.90ff; Richter 1945, p.152; Karo 1943, p.23.

⁷ Reinach 1899, pp.100-101. A temple inventory listing jewellery where the items are often meticulously described, is the 279 B.C. account by the priests of Delos: Homolle 1882, p.105ff.

manufacture. At the end of the 4th century B.C., and particularly in the 3rd century B.C., the local Tarentine industry expanded assuming a more individual character.

The extensive export of the products of Tarentum influenced jewellery production in Campania, Etruria and Picenum⁸. The cultural *koiné* of Tarentum, was felt all over southern Italy and several of the Etruscan centres throughout the 4th and part of the 3rd centuries B.C., even in Rome⁹.

The prominence of Tarentum declined after 209 B.C. when the Roman army, under the leadership of Q.Fabius Maximus, captured and plundered the city and its territories. Its wealth and power, at the end of the 3rd century B.C., can be deduced by the enormous spoils brought back to Rome for the triumph of Fabius Maximus¹⁰: additionally to thousands of art works, a large quantity of worked silver and 83,000 *libra* of gold¹¹.

IV Terracotta imitations of jewellery

The gold jewellery recovered from Tarentum comes almost entirely from funerary contexts, but there are also numerous examples in gilt bronze and gold-plated terracotta imitations, aimed to a less wealthy clientele. The gold-plated terracotta jewellery is too fragile to have been used for personal decoration, its function must have been votive or funerary, as the findings in cemeteries and sanctuaries seem to suggest¹².

The terracotta examples reproduce accurately the precious metal types from which they are derived, the most commonly found are earrings and necklaces. It has been suggested that the matrix used to reproduce these objects was taken

⁸ Breglia 1941, p.125; *Ori di Taranto*, p.21.

⁹ *Ori di Taranto*, p.17.

¹⁰ Livy, XXVII, 16, 8.

¹¹ It is interesting to note that in 211 B.C. the booty from Capua, also a rich and powerful city consisted 'only' of 31,000 *libra* of silver and 2,070 of gold: Livy, XXVI, 14, 8.

¹² Blank 1976, p.25.

directly from the original gold or silver examples¹³. This is a likely possibility, as the terracotta jewellery often corresponds precisely to the golden prototype. It is uncertain who the craftsmen employed in this activity were: if the artisan working in terracotta or the goldsmith, expert in gold-plating technique. The final result was a low cost item but of high craftsmanship, apparently identical to its precious metal model¹⁴. The production of gold plated terracotta jewellery is centred in the 4th and 3rd centuries B.C.

V Crown¹⁵

The crown was, originally, simply made of natural branches and leaves, its use confined to religious and funerary purposes. Garlands were found on Egyptian mummies of the XX and XXI Dynasty (c.1200-945 B.C.) confirming Tertullian's statement that the use of the crown originated in the East¹⁶. In Greece the crown started to be utilised in funerary rituals: *stephanai* of leaves and flowers were placed on cult statues, were offered as ex-votos and were worn during religious ceremonies. The crown acquired a symbolic importance that was employed to reward political distinction, virtue, athletic excellence, and eventually was used during events such as *symposia* and weddings.

As the use of the crown rapidly spread, so must have the craft industry that produced it¹⁷. It is probable that, at a time when the taste and demand for jewellery increased, the leafy crowns started to be reproduced in precious

¹³ Lunsingh-Scheurleer 1982, p.193; Lullies 1962, p.43ff.; Kriseleit 1977, p.13; *Archaeological Reports*. London 1959-1960, p.25, fig.30; BMCJ pl.XXXIX; *Ori di Taranto* nos.57, 58, 70-72, 89, 101-102, 118.

¹⁴ It is believed that one of the techniques for forming sheet gold Greek jewellery was by using a wooden model: Hoffman-Davidson 1965, pp.28-29.

¹⁵ Saglio E. 'Corona' in Daremberg-Saglio, I, 1873, pp.1524-1527; *EAA* II, pp.861-866; *Ori di Taranto*, pp.71-108.

¹⁶ Tertullian *De Corona.*, VII,17-44.

¹⁷ Theophrastus mentions craftsmen manufacturing *stephaneplokoi*: Theophrastus *Hist.Plant.*, VI, 8, 1.

metal. Precious metal crowns were offered as ex-votos in sanctuaries¹⁸ and were worn by cult statues, as the Olympian Zeus¹⁹. A gold leaf garland was found buried in the 4th century B.C. Etruscan *Tomba degli Scudi*²⁰. In Rome the use of the crown in triumphs and funerals is well attested: the *corona Etrusca*, made of gold oak leaves and precious stones, was the only gold insignia carried in the triumph²¹, and was, as the name suggests, of Etruscan origin. Also *stephanai* were placed on the head of the deceased, according to a custom contemplated in the XII Tables²².

At Tarentum, the crown is one of the best known classes of jewellery. Terracotta examples are also frequently found, from the 5th century B.C. but particularly common in the second half of the 4th century B.C.²³ The first examples of crowns are dated between the late 6th and the 5th centuries B.C.; they consist of myrtle leaves and berries in gilded silver²⁴, paralleled only by Etruscan examples dated to the 5th century B.C.²⁵ The contemporary presence, at Tarentum and in Etruria, of funerary crowns of similar typology, underlines the direct dependence of Etruscan local production, in the 4th century B.C., from that of Magna Graecia and the important role played by Tarentum as intermediary between Greece and Etruria.

In Etruria, the gold-leaf crown of Greek type becomes heavier and larger in the 4th and 3rd centuries B.C.; the Greek and the south Italian examples, maintain the "natural", weightless, character recalling the original foliage archetype. The

¹⁸ Mentioned in the inventories at the Parthenon: *IG II-III*, 1, 1377; Hekatompedon: *IG II-III*, 1, 1386; in the sanctuary of Apollo at Delos: Homolle 1882, IV, pp. 107ff; Hussey 1890, pp. 69-88.

¹⁹ Pausanias, V, XI, 1.

²⁰ Now in the Museo Gregoriano Etrusco at the Vatican: Banti 1960, p. 344, pl. 110; Higgins 1964, pp. 120-121, 150, 158, pl. 41.

²¹ Pliny *N.H.*, XXXIII, 4, 11; Tertullian, *De Corona*, XIII, 3-5.

²² Cicero *de Legibus*, II, 24, 60; Appian, *Civ.*, I, XII, 106.

²³ *Ori di Taranto*, p. 418, LXII, inv. no. 12.037.

²⁴ Taranto Museo Archeologico Nazionale, inv. nos. 12.221, 12.298: *Ori di Taranto*, p. 72.

²⁵ BMCJ p. 264, no. 2292, pl. XLVIII.

Greek goldsmith shows a love for naturalistic floral elaboration, filigree tendrils, scrolls, buds, blossoms and palmettes. Very different is the Etruscan crown, flat and stylized, held in place by a structure to which the various elements are attached, creating a compact arrangement of leaves and flowers. The delicate workmanship and imaginative motives of the Greek types are replaced, in central Italy on the *corona Etrusca*, by large, flat, olive or laurel leaves, overlapping each other in a symmetrical mass, aimed at creating an immediate impact on the viewer²⁶.

If the crowns that have survived had a funerary purpose, it is undoubtable that in Etruria they were also used for purely decorative reasons: the Etruscans had an intense, somewhat provincial, love for jewellery and for the display of wealth, as can be seen on the numerous funerary monuments where both men and women are adorned with crowns, earrings, necklaces, bracelets, finger rings²⁷.

The crown reproduced on head F2h has a distinctly Etruscan feel; it is not light and delicate as a Greek or Tarentine example, but high and rigid, standing firmly and neatly, like a frame, on the top of the head. The leaves of the upper row of the crown rise frontally, trilobate in shape, representing olive or myrtle branches, as the middle, rounded element suggests a berry or fruit. The general shape could also indicate a line of palmettes, a frequent decorative element on Etruscan jewellery of the 4th-3rd centuries B.C. A possible parallel for this crown is suggested by a group of crowns from Tarentum, of probable 3rd century B.C., composed of trilobate ivy leaves²⁸. However, unlike the example on F2h, this type of crown is always fashioned from entwined leaves lying on the side. An Etruscan crown from Vulci, dated to the late 4th, early 3rd centuries B.C, with ivy leaves and rosettes, is of a similar type to that

²⁶ Becatti 1955, p.97, pl.XCI, nos.357-358.

²⁷ For example, on the terracotta sarcophagus of Larthia Seianti, from Chiusi, in the Museo Archeologico, Firenze, inv.no.70697: *Civiltà degli Etruschi* 1985, no.15.15; and on the terracotta sarcophagus of Seianti Thanunia Tlesnasa, also from Chiusi, in the British Museum: inv.D 786.

²⁸ *Ori di Taranto*, p.75, type III, no.4.

represented on the BM's votive head²⁹. The most likely parallel for this crown, nevertheless, is a type of Etruscan gold wreath, best displayed by an example from Tarquinia in the British Museum, made of three rows of ivy leaves and two of berries, rendered as a series of bosses with concentric circles in relief³⁰. The outside rows consists of fourteen leaves pointing outwards, just as the upper border on the crown of the votive head comprises fourteen elements. The central row consists of thirteen leaves ranged horizontally, six pointing in one direction and seven in the other. The lines of berries consists of thirteen elements in paler gold, also corresponding to the arrangement on the votive head. A hollow tube of gold is fastened in the centre for strength.

The crown; or wreath, reproduced on the votive head seems to be the type of the *corona subtilis* of 4th-3rd centuries B.C., of which the BM's wreath is an example; on this type of crown the leaves are cut out of a thin sheet of gold and sewn to a background³¹. The background can be, either a flexible band in the same material of the leaves, or a rigid frame made flexible by a central hinge, fastened at the back of the head by ribbons. The crown, high, flat and impressive, appears to be a closed circle of equal height all around, another typical element of this class of Etruscan wreaths.

The crown represented on head F2a is a common type, found on numerous antefixes with maenad's head of 4th-3rd centuries B.C. It consists of a single row of circular bosses, or rosettes, with central button³². This type is particularly popular at Caere, where it is also found on votive heads of 4th-3rd centuries B.C. adorned with horseshoe *a grappolo* earrings and necklaces, as on head F2a³³. Similar ornaments are also found on Volterranean alabaster ash urns

²⁹ Part of the Castellani Collection in the Villa Giulia Museum in Rome: Caruso 1988, inv.no.53795, pl.III, no.24.

³⁰ Also Castellani Collection 1872: BMCJ, pl.XLI, no.2296.

³¹ BMCJ, pls.XLI-XLII; Higgins 1961, p.150.

³² Andren 1940, pl.20, IV.6; pl.20, IV.7, from Caere; Higgins 1954, BMCT, B.621, 622; BMCJ, fig.71; Andren 1948-50, pl.III, fig.2, Orvieto, Musco dell'Opera del Duomo; Stefani 1984, pl.IV, b-9.

³³ Van Bothmer-Noble 1961, pl.XXI, A; Nagy 1988, IA3h, pl.IV, fig.7; IA10, pl.VIII, fig.15; Riis 1981, p.27, Caere type 17B.

dated to the 4th-3rd centuries B.C.³⁴. This type of ornament is probably of Greek origin³⁵, reaching Etruria, where it becomes popular, via southern Italy. Examples of terracotta rosettes applied to wreaths of lead, silver, bronze and gold are well known from Tarentum³⁶.

VI DIADEM³⁷

In its most generic meaning, a diadem is simply a ribbon, or fillet, and as such is probably the most common Greek female ornament from the Archaic period. The diadem, far more than the crown, is susceptible to fashion changes, particularly in the Hellenistic period when numerous types existed to satisfy the love for luxury and ostentation typical of the Eastern kingdoms. Once again, most of the surviving examples came from funerary contexts. Representations on vase painting show the assortment of types, some of which must have been supported by perishable materials, such as wood and fabric. In Italy, pre-4th century B.C. examples are rare, but from then on the diadem became a favourite ornament. Amongst the Italic populations, organised on a social structure of aristocratic model, the diadem acquired status role as an expression of rank and economic privilege.

The terracotta votive heads in the BM's collection show five types of diadems. On head F4g is represented the simplest type of diadem, a tube, generally made of thin gold leaf, either hollow or applied to another metal base. Silver or lead, gold-plated to imitate precious metal, were also used³⁸. The tube, curved and not too long, was placed above the forehead on the hair, as can be seen on F4g, to hold the hairstyle in place and probably terminated with ribbons to fasten it

³⁴ Gambiotti 1974, p.15.

³⁵ For rosettes on a band in the 4th century B.C.: Hoffman-Davidson 1965, p.69, fig.8.

³⁶ *Ori di Taranto*, pp.91-92, no.21.

³⁷ 'Diadema' in Daremberg-Saglio, II, 1892, pp.119-123; *EAA*, III, 1960, pp.85-89; *Ori di Taranto*, pp.111-125.

³⁸ *Ori di Taranto*, p.114.

at the back of the head. This type seems to be typical of Tarentine production, dating from the last quarter of the 4th century B.C.³⁹

The most frequently represented type in Hellenistic art is probably the crescent-shaped *stephane* generally combined with a loosely brushed back hairstyle⁴⁰. The *stephane* is originally the crown of Aphrodite and of other goddesses, later taken over by women. The basic form of the object consists of a curved golden sheet; the earliest type is not dissimilar to a *polos*⁴¹, and rectangular-shaped⁴² diadem, as opposed to triangular,⁴³ are not uncommon. Heads F3aI and F3aII wear a crescent shaped *stephane*, more ogival-shaped on the first, more rounded on the second. The ogival-shaped diadem, worn like a coronet, is, in Italy, a later development of the initial crescent-shaped form, apparently, dated to the 3rd and 2nd centuries B.C.⁴⁴. The *stephane* on head F3aI reflects an older fashion and, as the larger size indicates, is the earlier of the two.

Four heads, F3c, F5a, F5b and FmbI, display a diadem with the *nodus Herculeus*, a decorative motif appearing in the 4th century B.C. and remaining fashionable throughout the Hellenistic period. The *nodus Herculeus* was considered a magical symbol and the presence of the *nodus* on jewellery was as much for decorative as for propitiatory reasons⁴⁵: it was described by Oribasius⁴⁶ and Pliny⁴⁷ who praised its healing properties. This alleged attribute

³⁹ Taranto Musco Archeologico Nazionale, inv.no.54.746: *Ori di Taranto*, p.114, no.49. A similar example, also from Tarentum, was sold in auction at Christie's in London: Christie's catalogue, Antiquities 11 June 1980, p.55.

⁴⁰ 'Stephane' in Daremberg-Saglio, IV, 2, p.1508 (stephanos, stephaniskos, stephanion); Thompson 1963, p.49.

⁴¹ Thompson 1963, p.49.

⁴² *Ori di Taranto*, p.114.

⁴³ BMCJ, pl.XLI, no.2113.

⁴⁴ Bonfante 1975, p.78.

⁴⁵ Becatti 1955, p.89.

⁴⁶ Oribasius IV, p.261, ed.Bussemaker & Daremberg.

⁴⁷ Pliny *N.H.*, XXXVIII, 6, 17.

may have some significance on its presence on the votive heads. The *nodus Herculeus* was used on diadems, as pendent on necklaces, on belts, bracelets, rings, often elaborately decorated with filigree, palmettes, leaves and rosettes, as on a famous example from Tarentum⁴⁸.

In the 3rd century B.C. its decoration acquires precious stones, as small pendants suspended from the *nodus* and falling on the forehead, in cornelian and lapis-lazuli⁴⁹. This decorative element, probably of eastern origin, has been associated with the imagery of Alexander⁵⁰, but its use is in fact more ancient and can not be identified with any specific historical figure⁵¹.

The diadems with *nodus Herculeus* on F3c and FMbI are of simple type. The two heads are typical examples of mass produced industry, quickly manufactured with the minimum of labour and the jewellery reproduced reflects this tendency. Beside the basic form of the object, the diadem is free from any decorative detail. However, F3c is a head from a good prototype and the *nodus* on the diadem is clearly recognisable. Heads F5a and F5b are different; the two heads are of good quality and well finished. Both heads are inspired by late Classical models and the simplicity of the ornaments seems to reflect the sober, elegant taste of the period.

A popular form of diadem in Etruria was a wide band made of two or three rows of beads, sometimes with a central division above the forehead, tied back with a ribbon. This type of ornament appears on numerous monuments, worn by both men and women⁵², and is probably comparable with a gold example in the British Museum⁵³. This type of diadem is found on numerous terracotta

⁴⁸ From Ginosa: Becatti 1955, pl. CI, no.384.

⁴⁹ BMCJ, pl.XXVII, nos.1607-1609; Becatti 1955, pl.CXX, no.436, pl.CXXI, nos.438-439.

⁵⁰ Segall 1946, pp.55-67.

⁵¹ *Ori di Taranto*, p.122.

⁵² On a stone sarcophagus lid from Chianciano in the Museo Archeologico, Firenze, inv.no.94352 of early 4th century B.C.: Cristofani 1975, pp.34, 42, no.12; pp.65-66; see Group 2; or on a red-figure cup from Vulci: Banti 1960, p.337, pl. 87; and on terracotta antefixes: Banti 1960, p. 332, pl.75.

⁵³ BMCJ, pl.XLVIII, no.2292.

votive heads from Latium, particularly at Caere⁵⁴. In the British Museum's collection is represented only on two small heads: F2kI and F2kII.

VII EARRING⁵⁵

The earring is one of the most frequent personal ornaments in the Greek world. In the Archaic and Classical periods was the most popular item of jewellery, and to its popularity is attributed the costume of decorating statues with earrings, in some cases modelled directly in the stone, at times consisting of real jewels inserted on the lobes, as indicated by existing perforations⁵⁶. Earrings were also commonly offered as ex-votos to the divinity and were kept in the sanctuary, as attested by surviving inventories⁵⁷.

For the Classical period, contemporary sources such as sculpture, vase painting and coins, disclose a variety of types which have no parallel on archeological record. In southern and central Italy, as in Greece, female figures wearing earrings of various type are reproduced frequently on terracotta antefixes, figurines, coins and pottery, but in Magna Graecia and Etruria a considerable number of such objects have been recovered. Tarentum, once again, seems to be the most active and creative centre of production⁵⁸.

Some of the most common types of earrings in the Classical and Hellenistic periods are reproduced on the votive heads in the British Museum's collection. One of the most popular, and long surviving, is the inverted pyramid, or cone,

⁵⁴ Votive heads and antefixes: Riis 1981, p.39, fig.23, from Praeneste; votive bust in Hamburg Museum: Mercklin 1930, p.99, nos.452-453, pl.XXXII; Nagy 1988, pl.2, figs.3-4, IA3; pl.IV, fig.9, IA4b; pl.XII, fig.24, IA16; pl.XIV, figs.29-30, IA17; pl.XVI, figs.31-32, IA17; heads in Siena: Hafner 1965, pl.16, nos.2,4.

⁵⁵ Pottier E. *'Inaures'* in Daremberg-Saglio, III, 1900, pp.440-447; Breglia L. *'Orecchino'* EAA, V, 1963, pp.728-730.

⁵⁶ Hadaczek 1903, p.2.

⁵⁷ See note 7.

⁵⁸ *Orti di Taranto*, pp.129-192; Breglia 1941, pp.118-119.

pendent suspended from a disc, displayed on heads F4I and F6aI⁵⁹. This type of earring is worn already in the Archaic period, as attested by the maidens of the chorus on the François vase of 550 B.C. At the end of the 5th century B.C. it is enriched with side chain-pendants, as can be seen on Syracusan coins of Eukleidas⁶⁰, but becomes most popular in the Hellenistic period when, in addition to the lateral pendants, it is embellished with filigree and granulation. Numerous examples from Cyprus⁶¹, Asia Minor⁶², southern Russia⁶³ and Macedonia⁶⁴ demonstrate the circulation of the type.

In Italy it is very common in Tarentum where it is also represented on coinage of 340-302 B.C.⁶⁵ and on 4th century B.C. terracotta antefixes⁶⁶. The products of Tarentum were exported to other areas of southern Italy, confirmed by numerous examples of Tarentine origin found in Campania⁶⁷.

Also to Tarentine influence are attributed the numerous Hellenistic examples retrieved in Etruscan areas. Here again, the popularity of this type of ornament is best demonstrated by its representation on the antefixes and votives terracottas⁶⁸. In Etrusco-Italic contexts, this type of pendent earring becomes common in the 4th century B.C. and remains in use until the 1st century B.C. It

⁵⁹ Hadaczek 1903, pp.28-30.

⁶⁰ Rizzo 1946, p.208, pl.F.

⁶¹ BMCJ, pl.XXX, nos.1666-1667.

⁶² BMCJ, pl.XXX, nos.1664-1665, 1670-1673.

⁶³ Artaamanov 1969, no.309.

⁶⁴ *Treasures of ancient Macedonia* 1978, p.94, pl.53, no.381.

⁶⁵ Hadaczek 1903, p.28, fig.48.

⁶⁶ Laviosa 1954, pp.238-240, pl.LXXIII, nos.3-6; Willenmier 1939, p.428, pl.XXXIX, no.4; BMCT, pls.183, 189, nos.1329-30, 1360.

⁶⁷ Breglia 1941, pp.36-37, pl.XIII, nos.79-80; Siviero 1954, p.22, pl.54, no.44; Becatti 1955, p.195, pl.CI, no.383.

⁶⁸ Cristofani 1983, p.314, no.254.

is still found on late Tuscanian stone sarcophagi⁶⁹ and alabaster ash urns from Volterra⁷⁰.

A very close parallel for the type of earring represented on F6aI is found on a votive head in the Vatican Museums⁷¹. According to Hafner, this type of earring is found in central Italy mostly in the 3rd and 2nd centuries B.C.⁷² However, it was certainly known in Etruria before this date, as very similar examples are featured on head-kantharos of the 4th century B.C.⁷³, and on an Etruscan mirror from Clusium⁷⁴.

On the two votive heads, the inverted pyramid earrings are of the simple form. F4I shows a pyramid rather than a cone design, as the edges of the triangle are clearly emphasised to indicate sharp corners. The disc on the earlobe, on this example, is poorly represented, but seems to be a plain roundel without evidence of decoration. Between the disc and the pendant there is no indication of attachment or lug, which exist instead on F6aI, in the form of a crescent-shaped element. On this head the pendant appears to be a cone, as its outline is more rounded. The surface of the earring was possibly decorated, as hinted by some faint transversal incisions on the right side example. The disc shows clearly in the middle a rosette with central button. A votive head of very similar type, in the Vatican Museum, shows precisely the same type of earrings⁷⁵. This type is well known in Tarentum where it is dated to the early 3rd century B.C.⁷⁶

⁶⁹ Türr 1969, p.56.

⁷⁰ Cristofani 1977, I, nos.24, 82, 102, 140, 210, 222, 229; II, nos.47, 77, 116, 129, 132.

⁷¹ MGE inv.no.13927: Hafner 1965, pl.21, no.3.

⁷² Hafner 1965, pp.54-55.

⁷³ A janiform head of satyre and maenad from Clusium, in the Villa Giulia Museum, dated to the second half of the 4th century B.C: Beazley 1947, Clusium Group, pl.XXVIII, no.5.

⁷⁴ Bianchi Bandinelli 1925, p.542, fig.10, no.176.

⁷⁵ Hafner 1965, pl.21, no.3.

⁷⁶ *Orl di Taranto*, pp.172-173, nos.90, 91a,b.

The ring-shaped earring with lion's head is present on three votive heads in the BM's collection: F7a, F4j and F4dII⁷⁷. This type originates as a simple, open ring, acquiring during the 4th century B.C. a lion's head at one or both extremities, often decorated with filigree and a twisted wire around the main body of the ring⁷⁸. In the 4th and 3rd centuries B.C. it is the most common type of earring, found all over the Greek world⁷⁹. However, the best examples are found in Etruria⁸⁰ and Magna Graecia⁸¹ particularly Tarentum⁸², where they are frequently created in lavish *parure* of matching earrings, necklace, bracelet, waist belt and fingerings⁸³. The lion's head loop earring is common in Cyprus, Phoenicia, Egypt and Syria, which has led to believe that the type originated in the Eastern Mediterranean and grew to popularity with the conquest of Alexander⁸⁴. In Etruria the type is reproduced on female heads on mirrors, paired with torque necklaces with lion's head terminals⁸⁵.

A number of the votive heads in the Museo Gregoriano Etrusco at the Vatican wear this style of earrings. One head belongs to the same type of F6aI (a head that displays inverted pyramid pendent earrings) but showing different hairstyle; another is of the same type of F4dII, sharing both earring type and hairstyle⁸⁶.

The earring on F4j (only the right one survives) is damaged and the lion's head terminal is missing. However, what remains of it makes the identification

⁷⁷ Hadaczek 1903, pp.75-78, figs.156-157.

⁷⁸ BMCJ, pl.XLIII, nos.2211, 2213, 2215-2216.

⁷⁹ BMCJ, pl.XXXI, nos.1728-1808.

⁸⁰ BMCJ, pl.XLIII, nos.2206-2207, 2225-2226.

⁸¹ This type is mostly absent in Campania, only a few examples have been found at Cumae: Breglia 1941, p.123.

⁸² Becatti 1955, pl.XCVII-XCVIII, nos.375-376; *Orti di Taranto*, pp.182-186, nos.109-117.

⁸³ In the Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Taranto, second half 4th century B.C.: Breglia L. *Japigia* X, 1939, fig. 22, no.39; Becatti 1955, pls.XCVIII-XCIX, no.377.

⁸⁴ Amandry 1967, p.204; Higgins 1980, p.159; Recder 1988, p.224.

⁸⁵ Züchuer 1942, fig.72, p.149.

⁸⁶ Hafner 1965, pl.21, no.3; Hadaczek 1903, pp.76-77, figs.156-157.

possible. The main body of the loop shows a type made of a hollow, open-ring tube, decorated, probably, with a twisted wire. The missing piece in front of the ear lobe was almost certainly a lion's head, as the scar left in the clay reveals a large, rounded terminal. The type represented is very common in central and southern Italy in the 3rd century B.C.⁸⁷.

The earring on half head F4dII is of the same type, with the twisting around the ring clearly visible, illustrated by transverse incisions in the clay. Unfortunately the details of the lion's head terminal are hidden by the hair in front of the ear.

The best and clearest example of this type of earring is displayed by F7a, the head of a young girl. The loop, closed rather than open, is a thick twisted circle, terminating into a large lion's head. The shape is that of a fat shrimp, found on other examples of Hellenistic period⁸⁸.

What little is discernable on heads F7a and F4j, seemsto indicate terminals with rather large lion's heads, slightly pointed at the ends. This variation of a tapering lion's head at the end is a refinement, apparently, of South Italian origin, finding parallels in examples of the 4th and 3rd centuries B.C. from Tarentum, Capua, Cumae and Ithaka⁸⁹.

The earring type on head F4c seemsto illustrate in detail a specific prototype. Similar rosette-and-pendent earrings are relatively common amongst Greek and Etruscan jewellery of the 4th and 3rd centuries B.C. The example illustrated on the terracotta head shows a low-hanging pendent, consisting of a rosette of ten petalswith a central stud. Behind the rosette, hanging from it, is a palmette-shaped plate, the attachment of which is not visible. A pair of earringsfrom Soracte, in the Castellani Collection at the BM, dated 4th-3rd centuries B.C., can be compared to the example illustrated on head F4c⁹⁰. The gold specimen is composed of a curved, double plate of gold, embossed on the upper side with

⁸⁷ *Ori di Taranto*, p.185, nos.115-116.

⁸⁸ BMCJ, pl.XXXI, nos.1774-1775; *Ori di Taranto*, pp.183-184, nos.110, 111, 113.

⁸⁹ Kozloff 1981, pp.160-161, no.141, dated 325-300 B.C.; Deppert-Lippitz 1985, p.224, fig.160, dated late 3rd century B.C.; De Juliis-Loiacono 1985, p.303, no.349; Reeder 1988, p.225, no.123.

⁹⁰ BMCJ, pl.XLIV, nos.2241-2.

two palmettes. In the plate was inserted a gold hook, now missing. A second flat plate of gold is attached below the first.

Similar types come from Tarentum⁹¹ and in the Villa Giulia Museum in Rome is an example from Ruvo, in southern Italy, of 4th-3rd centuries B.C., displaying a certain resemblance with the earring on the terracotta head⁹². The Villa Giulia earring is, unlike the low-hanging one on the votive head, a close to the ear type. It is possible that the earring on the votive head is represented low in order to show the jewellery that would, otherwise, be concealed by the hairstyle. However, it is more likely that the maker of the terracotta carefully reproduced a real style. Long pendent earrings are common in the Hellenistic period, and frequent representations on female heads, wearing full hairstyle with earrings reaching almost shoulder level, must reflect a contemporary fashion⁹³.

A type of earring from Tarentum, dated to the mid-4th century B.C., illustrates the upper part of the jewel obscured by the hair, showing a rosette and palmette hanging from a large, leech-type loop⁹⁴.

One of the earring types most frequently reproduced on terracottas, votive and architectural, in Etruria, is the cluster horseshoe or *grappolo* earring⁹⁵. These cluster earrings reflect the 4th century B.C. Etruscan taste for heavy, solemn forms, in contrast with the lighter forms of the Hellenistic period. In the BM's collection this type of earrings is reproduced on heads F2a, F2h and F2m.

The oval-shaped jewel represented on head F2a comprises a semi-circular (or horseshoe) gold sheet, on it is a complex ornamental design of embossed

⁹¹ *Ori di Taranto*, p.189, no.127.

⁹² Also Castellani Collection: Caruso 1988, pl.VII, no.49.

⁹³ Similar hairstyle and long pendant earrings can be found on the votive statues and busts from the sanctuary at Lavinium: *Enea nel Lazio*, p.238, D 221; p.244, D 227; p.253, D 237 and D 238.

⁹⁴ *Ori di Taranto*, p.151, no.60.

⁹⁵ Antefixes from Caere: Andren 1940, p.57, no.IV:6, pl.20, fig.66; in the Musco Faina at Orvieto: Hadackzek 1903, fig.121; on mirrors: Gerhard 1843-97, II, 197, 213; IV 287,3; V 155,4; 156,2; on wall painting: Pallottino 1952, pp.101, 107.

elements. In the centre is a hollow circular element (or leech), convex toward the front⁹⁶. Above the central element is a small crescent, surmounted by a semi-circular zone of eight granules and by three strands, presumably intending to reproduce twisted filigree. Below it are five smaller, convex, embossed elements, with small granules filling the spaces between these elements. A cluster of small granules is placed below the central leech element. This elaborate type of earring is characteristic of Classical and early Hellenistic Etruscan jewellery of 4th-3rd centuries B.C., and numerous gold specimens survive⁹⁷. S

Particularly relevant is a study by Andren on a terracotta matrix reproducing a form of earring very similar to the one represented on head F2a⁹⁸. The object was used for the manufacture of terracotta earrings that were applied to votive or architectural terracotta heads. The author compares a number of such heads, all probably from Caere, showing related jewellery, some even obviously manufacture from the same matrix⁹⁹. Andren identifies in the version illustrated by the matrix the most developed form of this type of ornament.

The precious metal prototype was probably evolved in order to create a large earring from a single sheet of gold, combining two decorative elements: the expanded loop-ring (or leech) and the cluster pendent suspended from the loop¹⁰⁰. The form shown by the terracotta matrix, reproduced on F2a, is the standard model of the type, more apt to be fashioned from one single sheet of

⁹⁶ On one gold example of the type it is possible to see this element made of two pieces neatly joined in the centre by a vertical butt-joint, only visible under microscope magnification: Hackens 1976, p.37.

⁹⁷ Hadaczek 1903, p.61 note 2; BMCI, pl.XLIV, nos.2252, 2256, 2258, 2259; De Ridder 1924, pl.VII, nos.320-321; Ducati 1927, p.331ff.; Alexander 1928, fig.51; Giglioli 1935, pl.CCCLXXIV, nos.1,4; Becatti 1955, pl.CX-CXI, nos.412, 415, 417; *Ori e argenti dell'Italia antica*, p.39, pl.V, no.89; Greifenhagen 1974, I, pl.73, nos.1-3; Hackens 1976, p.37, no.4a; Victoria and Albert Museum, Webb Collection inv.no.8749/1863; Caruso 1988, pl.VII, no.51.

⁹⁸ Andren 1955-56, pp.207-219, fig.2.

⁹⁹ Including F2a: Andren 1955-56, p.213, fig.8.

¹⁰⁰ Andren 1955-56, p.211, figs.3-5; Hadaczek 1903, p.59ff.

gold¹⁰¹. It is unlikely, however, that the terracotta matrix was manufactured using a fragile, single sheet of gold prototype. More likely, to create the mould, the craftsman utilised the same, harder, materials that the goldsmith employed to emboss the earring, possibly a wooden prototype.

The study on the matrix demonstrates that the earring, as seen on heads F2a and F2h, were made separately from the rest of the head, by special mould, and were applied lightly to the sides of the finished head¹⁰². The identical shape of some earrings on a number of different heads, votive and antefixes, of 4th-3rd centuries B.C., shows the use of the same matrix and points to Caere as the centre of production for both¹⁰³.

The earrings on head F4dI are visible only in profile. At the front they are hidden by a series of three hair-locks, totally concealing the ears. They consist of a simple ring made of a hollow loop with a middle swelling, from which a smaller ring is suspended. This is a type found also in southern Italy but typical of Etruscan areas between the 4th and the 3rd centuries B.C.¹⁰⁴

In the 4th and 3rd centuries B.C., in central Italy, the Greek type of open ring, often terminating with a lion's head, acquires a more Etruscan quality increasing its size and decoration. In the later examples additions of pendants of various form appear: a pyramid, a vase (imitating the Greek type with amphora pendants) or simply a ring, as in the case of head F4dI¹⁰⁵.

The earring type represented on head F4m may represent the distinctive late Hellenistic type with amphora pendent, common in the 3rd-2nd centuries

¹⁰¹ Andren 1955-56, p.211 type 7; BMCJ, pl.XLIV, no.2259.

¹⁰² It is not uncommon for such objects to become detached from the main body, as in the case of head F2h, where the right earring is missing but the scar is clearly visible.

¹⁰³ The Caeretan provenance for most of these heads is known. Therefore, there can be little doubt that this group of jewelled terracottas were all manufactured in the same area, if not the same workshop: Andren 1955-56, p.215.

¹⁰⁴ From Clusium, 3rd century B.C.: Caruso 1988, pl.VII, no.56.

¹⁰⁵ Hadaczek 1903, p.65, figs.129-132; BMCJ, pl.XLIII, nos.2228-2231; Becatti 1955, p.97, pl.CX, nos.413.414, 3rd century B.C.

B.C.¹⁰⁶. In central Italy the type is present already in the late 4th-3rd centuries B.C.¹⁰⁷, akin to jewellery from south Italy, particularly Tarentum, where it is also recognized on Tarentine antefixes¹⁰⁸. The Tarentine origin of this type of earring is confirmed by the numerous examples of Tarentine provenance in the Museo Archeologico Nazionale in Naples¹⁰⁹ and one from Ginosa in the Museo Archeologico Nazionale in Taranto, dated to the 4th century B.C.¹¹⁰ According to Hafner, in central Italy this type of earring is more commonly found in the early 3rd century B.C.¹¹¹, found also on Etruscan mirrors¹¹². The type consists of a miniature amphora, made of gold sheets soldered together, suspended from a disc, often with the addition of side chain pendants¹¹³.

The closest parallel for the earring displayed on head F4m is a gold example from Chiusi, in the BM's Castellani Collection, dated to the 3rd century B.C.¹¹⁴. The earring is fashioned from different parts. The first section, on the lobe, is a disc with raised edge and beaded top. Within the disc is a rosette of twelve petals, unlike the one illustrated on head F4m, where the disc is plain with a simple circular stud. Behind the disc is a soldered hook with two wire rings from which is hanging a vase-pendent with floral design embossed in relief. A large hollow bead is attached below from a suspension ring, ornamented with filigree and globules.

¹⁰⁶ Greifenhagen 1974, p.44, dated to the 2nd century B.C.; *Ori di Taranto*, p.166, no.81, dated to the 2nd century B.C.; Reeder 1988, p.223, no.121, dated to the 2nd-1st centuries B.C.

¹⁰⁷ BMCJ, nos.2263-4; Higgins 1980, pl.42a.

¹⁰⁸ Wuillenmier 1939, p.428, pl.XXXIX, no.4; BMCT, pls.183, 189, nos.1329-30, 1360.

¹⁰⁹ Breglia 1941, pp.36-37, nos.79-80, pl.XIII; Becatti 1955, p.195, pl.CI, no.383.

¹¹⁰ Becatti 1955, p.196, pl.CII, no.389 a-c.

¹¹¹ Hafner 1965, pp.54-55.

¹¹² From Chiusi: Bianchi Bandinelli 1925, p.542, fig.10, no.176.

¹¹³ The method of manufacture of these objects has been studied in detail: Hackens 1976, pp.75-76, nos.25 a,b.

¹¹⁴ BMCJ, pl.XLIV, no.2263.

On the terracotta head F4m the earring is much simplified. The fixtures between the disc, the vase-pendent and the bead are not shown, yet it can be assumed that similar, simple devices as on the gold example are intended. There is no indication of decoration on the pendent or on the bead. The votive head shows an added detail in the form of a small stud in the middle of the earlobe, presumably indicating the manner in which the object was rivetted on to the wearer.

VIII NECKLACE¹¹⁵

The necklace is a common ornament and, although most examples are retrieved in graves, there can be little doubt that it was of common, everyday use. Precious metal necklaces are frequently reproduced on terracottas and, in southern Italy, also on ceramics¹¹⁶.

Four basic types of necklace are represented on the votive heads in the BM's collection, varying from the simple strand of beads to lavish compositions of pendants and bullae of various shapes.

Heads F2a, F5c and F4b display *bullae* necklaces. The *bullae*, the *Etruscum aureum* of the Romans¹¹⁷, is a distinctive and original product of indigenous taste¹¹⁸. This type of ornament appears first in the 7th century B.C.¹¹⁹, becomes more common in the 5th century B.C., but is particularly representative in the 4th-3rd centuries B.C., lasting, in certain forms, into the Roman period. This jewel was, originally, a lentoid pendant hanging from a broad loop with simple

¹¹⁵ Karo G. 'Monile' in Daremberg-Saglio, III, 2, 1900, pp.1984-1991.

¹¹⁶ Particularly interesting is a Lucanian krater of the Classical period attributed to the Carneia painter, illustrating necklaces and bracelets in relief: Trendall 1967, p.54, pl.LXXIV, 1.

¹¹⁷ Juvenal, V, 164; Pliny *N.H.*, XXXIII, 10; Plutarch, *Quaest.rom.*, 101; Macrobius, I, 6, 8.

¹¹⁸ However, some examples have been retrieved also from 4th century B.C. Gallic graves at Osimo and Filotterano, now in the Museo Nazionale in Ancona: Becatti 1955, pl.XXCII, no.363; Andren 1948, p.98.

¹¹⁹ Bronze examples from Faliscan tombs at Narce: Higgins 1980, p.141.

borders, as displayed on F2a. The more elaborate types, decorated with gorgon and lion's heads, or in *repoussé* with Greek mythological motives, are confined to the 4th and 3rd centuries B.C.¹²⁰ The shape of the *bullae* is always heavy, massive, rich in decorative details; it could be worn alone or arranged into elaborate necklaces, sometimes alternated to other pendants.

Like other groups of Etruscan jewellery, these necklaces are best studied, not only on the few actual examples surviving, but on the numerous illustrations on funerary statuary, votive heads, temple decoration, tomb painting and ceramics¹²¹.

Unlike Greek jewellery, the Etruscan *bullae* do not appear to have been reproduced in gilded terracotta imitations. According to Andren, the great precision of execution and the abundance of details on the objects reproduced on terracotta statuary, show that they were made using a mould fashioned from real gold prototypes¹²².

The *bullae* can be divided into three groups:

- I plain, simply decorated by a border or embellished on the hanging loop¹²³
- II decorated with embossed designs, such as gorgon and lion's heads¹²⁴
- III decorated with mythological scenes forming a narrative composition¹²⁵

The first two groups are securely dated within a broad time span, from the end 6th-early-5th to the early 3rd centuries B.C. The last group is of later date, probably 3rd and 2nd centuries B.C.¹²⁶.

¹²⁰ Becatti 1955, pl.XCII, nos.359-361.

¹²¹ Andren 1948-50, p.91ff, pl.I, nos.1-3, figs.4,6-7.

¹²² Andren 1948-50, pp.92-93.

¹²³ BMCJ, pl.XXLV, no.2271, 5th-4th centuries B.C.; pl.XLVII, no.2310.

¹²⁴ BMCJ, pl.XXII, no.1473; pl.XLVII, no.2304.

¹²⁵ Giglioli 1935, pl.CCCLXXIV, nos.19-21; Becatti 1955, pl.XCII, nos.359-361; De Ridder 1924, pl.XIII, nos.743-745.

The type represented on head F2a belongs to the first group. It is a torque with a series of five pendants: a central lentoid, or acorn-shaped, element with a wide, decorated border; two lateral crescent-shaped elements and two side elements in the shape of twisted coils. Curiously, the shape of the central element is very similar to that of the cluster earrings on the same head. The border around the pendant recalls the five small bosses and the horseshoe band on the earring, the oval, middle plain area recalls the oval central boss.

This "simpler" type is the most frequently represented in art, particularly on votive heads and busts from Caere¹²⁷ and antefixes from Orvieto, all of types related to each other¹²⁸. The nearest, almost identical, parallel for the necklace on head F2a is on a 4th century B.C. terracotta votive head from Caere in the Metropolitan Museum¹²⁹. Another parallel is on a terracotta votive head of the same type from Caere in the Lowie Museum in California¹³⁰. On these three heads the torques from which the *bullae* are suspended, is placed, atypically, high on the neck, approximately on the throat. Two votive heads in Hamburg, dated to the 4th-3rd centuries B.C., show stringent affinities in the shape of the pendants on the necklace. However, the attachment is a sickle-shaped plate, decorated with embossed figures, positioned at shoulder level¹³¹. A terracotta fragment in the Lowie Museum shows the same type of necklace with lentoid pendant and twisted coil, also placed low on the shoulder¹³².

It is evident that the highly ornate necklace on head F2a was copied from a real example, the profusion of details, the accuracy of execution, particularly on the central lentoid element, suggest that a specific mould was created for it,

¹²⁶ Andren 1948-50, p.98.

¹²⁷ Bothmer-Nobel 1961, pl.XXI, A; Mercklin 1930, p.99, pl.XXXII, nos.452-453; Nagy 1988, pl.VIII, fig.15; pl.XII, figs.24, 25, 26; pl.XIV, fig.28; pl.XVI, fig.32.

¹²⁸ Of early 4th century B.C.: Andren 1940, pp.180, no.II:36; pl.68: 221; p.201, no.III: 2; pl.76: 25; Andren 1948-50, p.108.

¹²⁹ Bothmer-Noble 1961, pl.XXI, A.

¹³⁰ Nagy 1988, pl.VIII, fig.15.

¹³¹ Andren 1948-50, p.106, figs.6-7; p.107, figs.8-9.

¹³² Nagy 1988, pl.XIV, fig.28.

possibly from a gold prototype. Due to the fragile nature of gold jewellery, as for the cluster-horseshoe earrings, the mould was probably taken from a prepared prototype made of more resistant material. It is likely that, for the rest of the necklace, less accurate and of lower depth, an ordinary stamp was used.

The necklace displayed by head F5c is a high torques type with three *bullae* pendants, similar to the previous example. Unfortunately the crude, poor quality of the manufacture and want of details hinder a more exact description.

The same can be said for the ornament reproduced on head F4b, obviously an example of the third, later type, showing a thick torques from which a semicircular heavy plate is suspended. No details of any kind are visible, but, presumably, the type illustrated was embossed with large ornamental decoration.

The torques¹³³ is clearly illustrated on head F6aI as a spiral, twisted, neck band with open, undecorated ends. This type of ornament was widely worn in northern Europe and Asia from the Bronze Age¹³⁴. Gallic warriors wore the torques into battle¹³⁵; the Greeks discovered the torques from the Persian and the Medes, that considered it a mark of nobility¹³⁶. The Etruscans borrowed it from the Gauls and represented it often on both men and women¹³⁷. In Etruria is particularly fashionable from the middle 3rd century B.C. to the middle 1st century B.C. In Rome only men wore the torques, given as prizes for valour¹³⁸.

¹³³ Herodotus, 3.20; Xenophon *Cyropaedia*, 1.3.2; Isidorus *Origines*, 19.31, 11.

¹³⁴ Schaeffer 1949, pp.49-120.

¹³⁵ Strabo, 4.4.5; Pliny *NH*, 33.15; Polybius, 2.31.4; as shown on the statue of the dying Gaul in the Capitoline Museum in Rome: Hubert 1932, pp.124-126.

¹³⁶ Herodotus 8.113.3; 7.80.2.

¹³⁷ On a female bust from Aricci: *Roma Medio Repubblicana*, p.321, fig.473; on female votive terracotta heads from Capua: Bonghi Jovino 1965, pl.XXVIII, no.1; pl.XXXIII, no.1; Kaschnitz-Weinberg 1925, p.333, fig.3; on vases: Gualandi G. 'Askoi in forma d'anitra.' *Arte Ant.e Mod.* VI, 1959, p.149, fig.26; pl.75, fig.17; pl.76 a-b; Falletti Maj B.M. 'Ceramica Etrusca in Valle Trebbia.' *RendPontAcc* XVII, 1940-41, fig.6-7.

¹³⁸ Isidorus *Origines*, 19.31, 11.2. The Romans became acquainted with this ornament in war when Manlius Torquatus was so named after he tore a torque from an enemy corpse and placed it on his neck: Livy, 7.10.11.

The example on head F6aI, with plain, rounded, undecorated ends, is favoured in Etruria in the 3rd century B.C., where, although actual examples are rare, it is often reproduced on monuments. On Volterranean ash urn lids dated after 200 B.C., the torques, open or closed, is the most frequently represented neck ornament on the reclining figures of the deceased¹³⁹. The plain, closed neck bands on heads F5b, F4b and F3c are probably also meant to represent torques.

Heads F4c and F4g show the most simple type of necklace, made of a single strand of beads. This type is not as commonly represented in art as the more elaborate types, possibly considered too ordinary to be worth reproducing. The necklace on head F4c consists of a short strand of circular beads, possibly intended to represent a gold example. Gold beads have been found in Tarentum dating to the early Hellenistic period¹⁴⁰. Gold plated terracotta imitations are also common in Tarentum, but presumably confined to funerary use, due to their fragile nature¹⁴¹.

Short, single strands of beads, or "pearls" were often worn in combination with other necklaces, as can be seen on head F4c, where it is accompanied by a narrow, torques-type band, placed slightly higher on the neck.

The necklace on head F4g appears to be a short string of cylindrical beads, a common Hellenistic type¹⁴². Golden examples from Tarentum are dated within the 3rd century B.C.¹⁴³

The last item of jewellery to consider is the pendant displayed on the neck of statue F4dI. This crescent-shaped pendant must have been part of a necklace, the chain of which is now missing, but a faint trace of it is still visible around the neck of the statue. A close parallel in gold, dated to the 3rd century B.C., is

¹³⁹ Cristofani 1977, I, nos.33, 40, 44, 48, 52, 53, 70, 80-82, 120-122, 124, 132, 138-140, 142, 147, 148, 183, 190, 228-230, 241, 246, 283, 288, 303-; II, nos.22, 26, 47, 63, 65, 68, 71, 77, 88, 104, 113, 117, 128, 129, 132, 141, 145, 166, 176, 184, 193, 200, 211, 235, 239.

¹⁴⁰ *Ori di Taranto*, p.207, no.135.

¹⁴¹ *Ori di Taranto*, p.207, no.136.

¹⁴² Amandry 1953, pl.XXXIII, no.224.

¹⁴³ *Ori di Taranto*, p.213, no.144; p.214, nos.145-146.

in the Museo Archeologico Nazionale in Tarentum¹⁴⁴. The necklace is made of a narrow, flexible, plaited gold-wire chain, with a slim central crescent-shaped pendant, also made of wire, secured at the ends by two "capsules". Hanging from the centre of the crescent was a smaller pendent, now missing but present on the terracotta reproduction on F4dI. Above the middle of the crescent is a rosette, to which the dangling pendant is secured.

A similar crescent-shape pendant, from another grave in Tarentum, is made of a gold sheet instead than wire and variously decorated, including leaves and palmettes¹⁴⁵. At the ends of the crescent are two rosettes, one attached to the suspension loop. This pendant was hanging from a leather string, as organic remains survive on the back. Stylistically the pendant is dated to the last quarter of the 4th century B.C., a dating confirmed by the associated material in the grave¹⁴⁶. This type of necklace and pendent is reproduced on 4th century B.C. Tarentine antefixes¹⁴⁷.

A very similar pendent to the one illustrated on F4dI is found on an unpublished Etruscan terracotta bust in an American private collection, of a type similar to head F4dI¹⁴⁸. The pendant is identical and placed in the same position as on the BM's example, the chain is also missing. The American bust shows, below the pendant, a number of other neck ornaments, as head F4dI may originally have had: a ribbon necklace with a series of amphora pendants, a twisted torques and a large *bullae* necklace.

Another similar pendant is part of a jewellery set, consisting of a gold necklace and a pair of earrings. The set, probably of south Italian origin, dated late 4th-

¹⁴⁴ Inv.no.6.451, from a tomb in Roccanova: Becatti 1955, p.89; p.202, pl.CXVII, no.431; *Ori di Taranto*, pp.197-198, note 35.

¹⁴⁵ Inv.no.54.733, from Roccanova: *Ori di Taranto*, p.231, no.161.

¹⁴⁶ Naumann 1980, p.27, no.21, pl.8; also a crescent-shaped pendant in Hamburg: Hoffman-von Clear 1968, p.80, no.50.

¹⁴⁷ Laviosa 1954, nos.26-28, pl.LXIII, figs.3-5.

¹⁴⁸ Mrs.H.D.Wilmarth collection. The terracotta is believed, presumably wrongly, to be a forgery.

3rd centuries B.C., is in a Swedish private collection¹⁴⁹. The necklace is formed of a chain, terminating in female-head finials wearing melon coiffure, with nine pendants placed along its length. The pendants are crescent-shaped, fronted by rosettes with suspended heads like those of the finials. The crescents, flat at the back with a central ridge at the front, terminate in pyramids of granulation. Above each granulated pyramid is a small palmette, fronted by a rosette. The female heads are suspended from the centre of the crescent, which is solid and nearly triangular in section.

¹⁴⁹ In the collection of Dr. Carl Kempe, Eloksumd Castle: Hoffman-Davidson 1965, pp.113-114, nos.33-34.

Chapter 8

HAIRSTYLE

Several styles of coiffure are displayed by, both, male and female votive heads in the BM's collection, often paralleled on other contemporary art forms and reflecting specific fashions. Particularly significant are the different hairstyles on the female votive heads. Although trends do not vary as rapidly as in modern fashion, their alterations in time are important, for dating the heads and for establishing relationships and development between individual examples and groups.

Only the more striking coiffures can be utilised in such manner; hairstyle alone, without the support of other typological and stylistic elements, is insufficient to define a chronology for the Etruscan and Italic votive heads, as can be done for the coiffures represented from the late Republican period onwards. In the Etruscan-Latium-Campanian area, illustration of hairstyle conventions are taken from both the Etruscan-Italic tradition and the Greek repertoire.

I The *Tutulus*

Female head Ft shows the characteristic Etruscan fashion of late 6th-early 5th centuries B.C. of the *tutulus*¹. The *tutulus* consists of a tall conical bonnet under which the hair, separated and twisted in locks, is brought up to the crown of the head and hidden. The hair can, otherwise, be worn loose on the neck and shoulder. The conical shape of the *tutulus* is so distinctive to be visible under a veil or mantle.

The *tutulus* is often mentioned by ancient authors who give different interpretations of the word. The name *tutulus* was used, in Roman times, to indicate the ancient ritual hairstyle, of Etruscan origin, of the *Flaminicae*

¹ Piganiol A. in *Daremberg-Saglio*, V, pp.558-559.

described by Festus² and Varro, who reports this coiffure as the one of the *matres familias*³. The word *tutulus* was extended in Roman times to indicate the bonnet worn by the flamines during sacrifices⁴; however, on monuments it is never shown on the head of sacrificing priests⁵. Modern scholars also indicate with the word *tutulus* the typical high, conical bonnet of Etruscan ladies represent on numerous monuments⁶. According to another school of thought, the word *tutulus* should only indicate a manner of dressing the hair⁷; the two can easily be equated as their representation in art is very close. The fashion for the *tutulus* died out by 480-470 B.C.⁸.

II The hairstyle on the female heads

That Etruscan women had an almost fastidious concern for their looks is well attested by the numerous monuments, particularly urns and sarcophagi, depicting, with profuseness of details, their jewellery, clothing, hairstyle and even the manicure of finger nails and toe nails⁹.

² Festus 484.32 : "tutulum vocari aiunt flaminicarum capitis ornamentum, quod fiat vitta purpurea innexa crinibus et exstructum in altitudinem".

³ Varro *Ling.Lat.* 7.44 : "id tutulus appellatus ab eo quod matres familias crines convolutos ad verticem capitis quos habent vitta velatos dicebantur tutuli".

⁴ Varro *Ling.Lat.*, 7.44.

⁵ Esdaile 1911, pp.212-226: She proposes very doubtful examples.

⁶ Helbig W. 'Über den Pileus der alten Haliker.' *Sitz.Ber.der Bayr.Akad.* 1880, p.515.

⁷ Bonfante 1975, pp.75-76, notes 80,81; Rumpf A. 'Antonia Augusta.' *Abhandlungen der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*. Berlin Phil.Hist.Klasse V, 1941, p.30; Rumpf A. *AJA* LX, 1956, p.74. According to some etymologies *tutulus* indicates the swelling shape connected with *tumeo*, Varro and Festus emphasise this feature in describing the *tutulus*: Walde A. Hofmann J.B. *Lateinisches etymologisches wörterbuch*. 3rd ed. Heidelberg 1930-56.

⁸ Bonfante 1975, p.76.

⁹ Pacchioni 1939, pp.490, 492. The article debates the actual coiffure techniques employed to obtain the most commonly represented hairstyles on the female figures of the sarcophagi.

The female heads can be arranged, according to their coiffure, in eleven classes displaying:

- -fringe or middle parting and side or snail curls

- -*Schläfenlocke*

middle parting and twisted side locks and braids

three side corkscrew curls

three rows of circular curls

- -middle parting pulled to the sides away from the face
- -"Knidian" coiffure
- -melon coiffure
- -middle parting and short locks swept towards the face
- -large pointed S-curls over the forehead
- -middle parting and falling straight over the sides of the face
- -long hair with disorderly fringe

In central and southern Italy, from the early 4th century B.C. women wore their hair long, wavy, often gathered into a Greek style hair-net (*sakkos*) or tied into a knot held in place by a diadem¹⁰, allowing some locks of hair to fall in front of the ears. With this hairstyle some form of head band¹¹, or diadem, often the wide beaded type¹², is essential. This type of coiffure is conventionally

¹⁰ A good example is offered by the figures on the lid of sarcophagus from Chianciano, which share hairstyle and diadem type with a series of votive heads from Caere, illustrated by F2a.

¹¹ *Enea nel Lazio*, pp.235-236, D 217.

¹² Roghi 1979, pp.226-227, pl.XLIX, 4; *La Regina in Lavinium II*, pp.197-198, C 2, C 7, figs.256-259; Comella 1986, pp.34-35, pl.16a.

represented in central Italy by emphatic, snaky, rounded side curls, or locks, sometimes defined as "snail curls". Added details are done in incision, a technique particularly well adapted to be rendered in bronze, stone and terracotta. It is undoubtedly the most fashionable hairstyle in Etruria in this period, testified by numerous representations of female and male figures on urn lids¹³, temple decoration¹⁴, votive female terracotta busts¹⁵, bronzes¹⁶ and tomb painting¹⁷. On Attic vases this hairstyle is attested in the first half of the 5th century B.C.¹⁸ In Etruria the earlier examples are found on Chiusine funerary sculpture dated between 430 and 400 B.C., where the hair is held by a beaded diadem¹⁹.

This popular style of coiffure is reproduced on several terracotta votive heads, with a number of variants. Its history is very long, maybe reflecting a reality, or maybe due to the conservative nature of traditional, popular art forms.

The best examples of this coiffure are reproduced on heads F2a and F2h. The presence of the frame-like veil, or nimbus prevents the hair arrangement at the back of the head to be visible.

.DI ; DII

On head F2a, the earlier of the two, the forehead displays a short, straight fringe slightly parted in the middle, the line of which curves from the centre towards the temples. Identical rendering is found on other votive heads from

¹³ Pacchioni 1939, p.485.

¹⁴ On antefixes from Caere: Andren 1940, pl.20, IV:6, 66; IV:7,67; on pediment sculptures from Volterra: Cristofani-Martelli 1971, p.268; and from Orvieto: Andren 1940, pl.60 I:30, pp.195-196; a terracotta head in the British Museum: Girardon 1992, pp.225-229, pls.I-II.

¹⁵ Giuliano 1953-54, p.172.

¹⁶ Votive bust in the Vatican: Haynes 1985, pl.210, no.148; ash urn lid from Perugia in the Hermitage: Cristofani 1985, p.293, n.117; *Antichità dell'Umbria a Leningrado*, pp.391-396; a bronze anthropomorphic *oenochoe* from Gabii in the Louvre: Cristofani 1985, pp.291-292, fig.220, no.115.

¹⁷ The girl Velia from the "Tomba dell'Orco" in Tarquinia dated to c.400 B.C.: Pallottino 1952, pp.99-131; Torelli 1983, 2, pp.7-17; Steingraber 1984, no.93; *Civiltà degli Etruschi*, pp.317-320, p.315, no.13.2.1.

¹⁸ Andren 1939, p.6ff.

¹⁹ Cristofani 1975, pp.41-42, 65, nos.10, 12, pls.XXVI, XXX, XXXII.

Caere, all of types closely related to this example²⁰. This manner of dressing the hair with distinct large side locks, often found on monuments of the Chiusi region in the early part of the 4th century B.C., shows the influence of Classical art of late 5th century B.C., in particular of the school of Polycleitus²¹.

In Etruria, as on Greek statuary, it is found on both male and female heads²², like on the Chianciano sarcophagus lid, a bronze ash urn from Perugia, a bronze vase-head from Gabii and a bronze votive head in the Vatican²³.

Two small veiled heads in the BM's collection also illustrate this distinctive coiffure, one of which, F2e is definitely female, the other, F2d, is of dubious definition. Both heads present the short, straight fringe highlighted by slight incisions and the prominent side snail-curly. The manner of rendering the hairstyle is quite close to that of head F2a.

Head F2h shows the same hairstyle but with a variant which is typically, but not exclusively, female: a centre parting with the hair combed to the sides in plastic rippling waves, individual strands indicated by deep incisions, the swelling side curls pronounced. The coiffure on this head is carefully executed, and combines the Etruscan over-emphasised side locks, with a style found on south Italian terracottas, particularly in Sicily²⁴.

Four small heads display the same coiffure as on F2h. They are F2jI and F2jII from related matrix, and F2kI, F2kII also from related matrix. Heads F2jI and F2jII display a hairstyle with middle parting, free forehead and wavy, almost curly short locks in front of the ears. The two heads are rather crude and generic, coiffure details are scarce, no diadem or head band is present. F2jII is

²⁰ Part 3, Catalogue: Group 2.

²¹ The best example of the type is the sarcophagus lid from Chianciano, already mentioned at note 10, where the hair is treated in exactly the same manner as on F2a. For a full discussion of the type and parallels: Part 3, Catalogue: Group 2.

²² For example on Polycleitus's Diadumenos, without the head band, as can be seen on the copies in the Dresden Museum and in the Metropolitan Museum; but also on the Cassel Apollo: Richter 1962, fig. 194; Bieber 1915, pls.I-VIII.

²³ see notes 10, 15, 16.; Roncalli 1982, pl:2.

²⁴ Inv.no.20403, Musco Archeologico in Siracusa, from Grammichele: Kilmer 1977, p.85, figs.43-44; Bell 1973, p.5 note 18, pl.4.

veiled and has a definite feminine look, but for F2jI the gender is uncertain. The only detail that enlists this head as a female example is the middle parting of the hair. On the votive terracottas this feature appears to be restricted to the female heads.

Amongst these, often rudimentary, objects it must have been important to maintain certain conventions in order to distinguish between the sexes, particularly as it is not uncommon to use the same facial type for both. The simplest way to avoid confusion is the manner of rendering the hair. It is true that, in late Archaic and Classical Greek art, males are often represented with long hair and central parting, as indeed on Etruscan art²⁵; but sophisticated art works depicting godly figures had little relevance to the circumstances of the people that acquired the modest votive objects. They needed to identify themselves and their own sex.

Heads F2kI and F2kII also display the parted hair arrangement with the wavy strands, this time held in place by a broad head band, possibly intended to represent the same type as the beaded diadems on the heads of the Chianciano sarcophagus and on votive heads from Caere.

From the style of coiffure described, a number of rather elaborate hairstyles is derived, all often reproduced on votive heads and statues. The most popular is the *Schläfenlocke* style. The most intricate and best represented is found on head F4dI, from a statue. At the back of the head the long hair is divided into a series of braids, wrapped around the head and pinned into place. At the front the hair is parted in the middle and a series of long, twisted locks fall at the sides of the face in front of the ears, replacing the side curls. The outside lock is a, well defined, corkscrew-shaped curl. This hairstyle, dated to the late 4th century B.C.²⁶, is reproduced almost identically on a head from Cerveteri in the MGE, probably also from a statue, of the same type and very similar to head F4dI²⁷.

DIV

²⁵ Two terracotta heads from temple pediments one in Orvieto, the other in the British Museum: Andren 1940, pp.159.161, pl.59-60; Girardon 1992, pp.226-227, note 2.

²⁶ Hafner 1965, p.52; Comella 1981, p.782, B III, fig.18; Comella 1990, p.23.

²⁷ Inv.no.13904: Hafner 1965, pl.19, nos.2-4; Bieber 1961, p.169, fig.721; *Civiltà degli Etruschi*, p.386, no.17.2.2.

A simpler version of this coiffure is found on heads of statues from Lavinium²⁸, Caere²⁹ and on another head in the MGE, again probably from a statue, that illustrates well the development of the hairstyle³⁰. The two Vatican heads, both from Caere and very similar in facial type, are derived from the same prototype and related matrix. In turn they closely resemble F4dI. On the first head the hair arrangement still shows affinity with the side curls style of Chiusine funerary monuments, but retained by a band around the head. The second head shows a further development, the band is replaced by braids and the hair at the sides is twisted in long, separate locks. F4dI is obviously closely related to this group of statues and shows a step forward in the development of the type. The hair is better defined, the side curls are more even and cylindrical, the back braids are very accurately and realistically rendered in detail.

DVI Simplified versions of this style are found on heads F4j and F4k. On the first example the braids, wrapped around the head, are present, but the side locks are placed behind the ears, rather than in front, and are not defined separately from the rest of the hair. The second head shows more emphasis on the front parting of the hair and relative rippling waves. It does not seem to have the back braids, but simply a mass of long hair cascading on the neck. Only one long, twisted curl is present, placed behind the ear.

These two heads are closely paralleled with a group of heads in the MGE which show the same hair arrangement and facial type³¹. Head F4j and its counterparts in the MGE³² share the same expression, full of pathos of Hellenistic extraction, and the same type of loop-ring earrings with lion's terminal of late 4th-3rd centuries B.C.³³ Head F4k displays, at the back of the

²⁸ *Enea nel Lazio*, pp.235-236, D 217.

²⁹ Mengarelli 1935, pl.XX, nos.3-4.

³⁰ Inv.no.13905: Hafner 1965, pl.19, nos.1-3.

³¹ From Caere, inv.nos.13999, 13880, 13957, 13927, 13909: Hafner 1965, pls.20, nos.3,4; pl.21, nos.1, 3-4.

³² Inv.no.13880, 13999: Hafner 1965, pl.20: nos.3,4.

³³ On head inv.no.13880.

head, a roundel of uncertain purpose, also present on numerous MGE heads related to it by hairstyle, facial type and jewellery style³⁴.

During the late 4th and 3rd centuries B.C., the twisted side locks modify into three, well defined, corkscrew-curls, symmetrically placed at either side of the face³⁵, as can be seen on head F4dII. At the top and back of the head the hair is, at times, held in place by a hair-net³⁶. This basic type of hair arrangement seems to be the most popular amongst the votive statues from Lavinium, with twisted locks or corkscrew-curls, sometime with beaded diadem, often veiled³⁷.

D v

According to Hafner, this hairstyle with corkscrew-curls appears for the first time in the mid-4th century B.C., on a sarcophagus lid from Tarquinia³⁸, surviving, in a simpler version, until the 3rd-2nd centuries B.C.³⁹ This coiffure is commonly represented on votive heads in Latium and Campania during the late 4th-3rd centuries B.C.⁴⁰ In the BM's collection this coiffure is illustrated on heads F4e, F4c, F4h, F4i and on half head F4dII.

A further modification of this hairstyle is shown by heads F4fI, and F4fII. On these two examples the strands of hair are indicated by small, tight circular curls, neatly arranged all around the face in three regular rows. This convention is commonly found on heads from many votive deposits in Latium and

D x1

³⁴ Inv.nos.13941, 13909, 13928, 13927, 13940.

³⁵ M.Torelli identifies this hair arrangement with the *seni crines* hairstyle of the *nubendae*: Torelli 1984, pp.31-50.

³⁶ The presence of the hair-net on head F4dII is questionable. Veiled heads F4c, F4h, and F4i show at the top of the head a line, which could indicate an hair-net or head-band, but could also evidence the braids of hair as seen on head F4dI. The presence of the veil makes identification uncertain.

³⁷ *Enea nel Lazio* p.243, D 226; p.244, D 227; p.246, D 228.

³⁸ Hafner 1965, p.49.

³⁹ Marinucci 1976, p.76.

⁴⁰ Part 3, Catalogue: Group 4; Comella 1981, p.783, B IV.

Campania, dated to the early 3rd centuries B.C.⁴¹ This type of stylised hairstyle is also found in Sicily on terracottas from the first half of the 3rd century B.C.⁴²

All the forms of coiffure described above have in common the length of the hair, which has to be long in order to create the elaborate effect of braids and curls. The numerous transformations of this ductile style, its continuous presence in central Etruria, Latium and Campania, the consistent addition to the coiffure of attributes, such as diadems, earrings and necklaces reproducing metal types, have led to suggest that the evolution of this coiffure was dictated, not only by fashion but also by the will to underline the social standing of the offerer, or even by customs connected with specific rituals⁴³. In the 4th and earlier 3rd centuries B.C. lavish jewellery is almost always associated with votive heads displaying this kind of hairstyle, later is more rarely found. Maybe this is a reflection of the progressive impoverishment of the middle and lower classes that worshipped at the sanctuaries where such votives were offered.

From the late 4th to the 3rd centuries B.C., in the Etruscan-Italic areas of Latium, the coiffure with thick corkscrew curls at the sides of the face is replaced by a fashion that leaves the face completely free. This evolution of style has been clearly observed on the votive terracotta heads from the deposit of the Ara della Regina at Tarquinia, which gives a *terminus post quem* to the middle of the 3rd century B.C.⁴⁴

D x11

The coiffure displayed by heads F2II, F2III, and F1b with *polos*, is a typical late Classical style. It shows a mass of fluffy hair parted in the middle and swept to the sides, away from the forehead, partly covering the ears. The hair strands are rendered as a series of compact, rippling waves and ringlets. On

⁴¹ Most votive heads displaying this hairstyle share also the same prototype and belong to the same type: Part 3, Catalogue: Group 4; Comella 1981, p.784, B VI.

⁴² Bell 1981, pp.141-142, pl.30, no.110; Ciaghi in Bonghi Jovine 1990, p.140 note 45.

⁴³ Comella-Stefani 1990, p.28.

⁴⁴ Comella 1982, p.27. At Tarquinia the earlier example of the hairstyle is attested on fresco paintings in the Tomba dell'Orco I and Tomba degli Scudi: Pallottino 1952, pp.99-102, 105-110; and is still represented on later sarcophagi: Pallottino M. 'Tarquinia.' *MonAL* 1937, XXXVI, p.457. The style is not represented on Tuscanian sarcophagi and on Volterranean ash urns of 2nd-1st century B.C.

heads F2II and F2III the hair, at the top of the head, is divided into a series of four narrow braids wrapped around the crown of the head.

This is a favourite hairstyle on votive terracotta busts in Magna Graecia, particularly in Sicily in the late 4th century B.C., where it is rendered in the same expanded manner. This coiffure is precisely duplicated on a votive head from Caere in the Lowie Museum in California, of the same type, derived from a related matrix⁴⁵. A very similarly rendered hairstyle is found on a series of unguent head vases, excavated at Agrigento within a cult area, dated to the 4th century B.C.⁴⁶

Heads F3aI and F3aII display the same hairstyle, but only a narrow strip of hair framing the face, is visible. The rest of the head is rounded and smooth with a ogival-shaped *stephane* on top of head F3aII and a circular *stephane* on head F3aI. DXIV

A variant to the style is found on heads F4a and F4b, where two thin, wavy locks fall freely on the neck like snakes. This detail recalls Tarentine sculpture where is reproduced, in a very similar fashion, on antefixes of 4th century B.C.⁴⁷ DXV

Related to the style with the middle parting and hair pulled to the sides of the face, is another coiffure with the hair pulled to the sides towards the back of the head and over the ears. It is the most popular coiffure for the Greek woman in the Hellenistic period, often referred to as the "Knidian" coiffure after the hairstyle of the Knidian Aphrodite⁴⁸. This hairstyle has a long life and is frequently present in the votive deposits. The characteristics of the style are the central parting, the close-lying, slight-rippling of the hair, and, not present on

⁴⁵ Nagy 1988, fig.33, pl.XVI.

⁴⁶ Griffo-Zirretta 1964, p.71. This type of vases are generally associated with cults of Demeter and Kore, Artemis and Tyche, requiring ritual bathing, and a large basin was in fact unearthed by the excavation within the cult area.

⁴⁷ Wuilleumier 1939, p.428, pl.XXXIX, nos.5-6; Laviosa 1954, pl.LXXIII, fig.5; BMCT, nos.1330, 1311-1334, 1361-1362, 1363, 1366.

⁴⁸ Thompson 1961, p.37.

any of the BM's examples, a loose knot at the back of the head or on the nape of the neck.

Dxvi This hairstyle is displayed on F4m. On this head the hair, parted and waved to the sides in a series of thick ripples leaving the ears completely uncovered, is an hybrid between the Knidian style and the Melon coiffure. Only the front of the hair is rendered, with a few shallow incisions to indicate the hair, but offering no evidence of how it was held in place. A comparable rendering is found on some votive heads from Capua, dated to the late 4th-3rd centuries B.C., wearing a close fitting bonnet, or veil, with the ears partly exposed⁴⁹. Very similar is also the modelling of the hair on some votive heads from Tarquinia, dated to the second half of the 3rd century B.C.⁵⁰

Dxvii A similar rendering of the frontal section of the hair, divided in segments as on the Melon coiffure, is displayed by head F4l. However, the back of this head is somewhat squashed and the hair is not pulled up at the rear, but left to fall close to the neck. The way in which the hair is rendered on the last two heads is paralleled on examples in the MGE, one also displaying the same type of earring with pyramid pendent of late 3rd-2nd century B.C.⁵¹

Dxvi The hairstyle displayed on head F4m can be paralleled on the Aphrodite of Arles, a copy of a work of the school of Praxiteles⁵², and on the Artemis of Gabii, also a copy of a work by Praxiteles⁵³, where the hair rendering at the sides is very similar.

Dxix The later form of this coiffure, with the hair parted in the middle but pulled flatter and tied at back of the head in a knot, is found only on head F5c. This variant is common in the votive deposits at Tarquinia, where it is dated to the 2nd century B.C.⁵⁴ A comparable rendering of the hair, with a bun low on the back of the head, is found on a bronze head vase from Casteggio in the

⁴⁹ The numerous Capuan examples are influenced by 4th century B.C. Greek sculpture: Bonghi Jovino 1965, p.24, p.45, pl.XII, D VII a1, D VIII a1.

⁵⁰ Comella 1982, B2III, pl.31a; B2IV, pl.31b.

⁵¹ Inv.nos.13927, 13909: Hafner 1965, pl.21, nos.3-4.

⁵² In the Louvre: Richter 1962, fig.685.

⁵³ In the Louvre: Richter 1962, fig.686.

⁵⁴ Comella 1982, pp.28-29.

Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, dated, stylistically by its jewellery, to the late 3rd-2nd centuries B.C.⁵⁵

The "melon coiffure", so called after its characteristic resemblance to a canteloupe melon, of heads F5a and F5b, is essentially an Hellenistic hairstyle, but originating in the later Classical period⁵⁶. In the Italic votive deposits this type of coiffure is well attested in Campania at Capua and Cales⁵⁷, in Etruria at Veii and Tarquinia⁵⁸.

Dxviii; Dxix

The hair is first divided into a number of wide, deep and parallel, waved or twisted, thick segments, usually eight, running from the forehead and drawn into a large flat coil of braids, or bun, at the back of the head. In the earliest examples, of late 4th century B.C., the hair is coiled against the back of the head, during the 3rd century B.C. it projects from the back of the head in the form of a bun⁵⁹. The earlier form of melon coiffure, which appears in Attic art of the third quarter of the 4th century B.C., shows the hair divided into flat, narrow waves, braided and then wound around the head. There are no examples of this form in Sicily, therefore we can assume that the style reached Italy after this phase⁶⁰. The more developed form of the coiffure shows the hair divided in numerous smaller, flatter segments, with a coil of braids at the back. This vogue of dressing the hair appears in major sculpture of the last quarter of the 4th century B.C., but does not emerge in the minor arts until somewhat

⁵⁵ Babelon-Blanchet 1895, no.255, p.111; Adam 1984, no.42.

⁵⁶ Thompson 1952, pp.138-139. The melon coiffure was particularly popular in the Hellenistic period, especially in Egypt, where portraits of Berenice I and II survive with this hairstyle: Richter 1965, III, pp.261, 263-264, figs.1776, 1779-1780, 1820-1823. In Egypt the melon coiffure was still fashionable in the second half of the 1st century B.C., Cleopatra VII wears this style on a coin of 38 B.C.: Richter 1965, III, p.269, figs.1858-1859, 1862-1864.

⁵⁷ Bonghi Jovino 1965, pl.26, no.4; pl.27 no.1.

⁵⁸ Vagnetti 1971, p.98, pl.54, no.3; Comella 1982, p.29, group VI.

⁵⁹ Higgins 1986, p.123. The dating for this type of coiffure is attested by its frequency in the cemeteries of Chatby and Hadra near Alexandria, where it does not seem to extend much beyond the middle of the 3rd century B.C.: Thompson 1952, p.120; Thompson 1963, p.38.

⁶⁰ Bell 1981, p.66.

later, spreading from Athens to Alexandria, and then to south Italy and Asia Minor in the early 3rd century B.C.⁶¹.

Dxviii

The melon coiffure on head F5a seems to be closer to the earlier form, with the hair divided into eight deep and wide parallel segments. At the back of the head is a large circular flat coil of braids⁶². A narrow circlet with a *nodus Herculeus* in the middle, is worn over the melon coiffure, portrayed as emerging from the hair to show only on the upper part of the head⁶³. The coiffure and the circlet with *nodus Herculeus* place this head into the middle of the 3rd century B.C. A very close rendering of the coiffure is found on a statuette of Korinna in Compiègne, a copy of the 4th century B.C. original⁶⁴. Comparable also is the melon coiffure on a head of Artemis on a coin from Orthagoria in northern Greece, minted in the mid-4th century B.C.⁶⁵

Dxix

The melon coiffure on head F5b is of the second form with the hair divided into numerous smaller segments drawn to the back. The coil at the rear of the head is not visible, in its place is a large vent-hole, but it would have been a coil of braids not unlike that on F5a. The coiffure on this head is not as accurately rendered as on the previous example and the details are difficult to ascertain. At the top of the head is a, possible, diadem-circlet with *nodus Herculeus*, or, more likely given the shape of the hair strands at either side of it curling inwards, a "bow-knot". The "bow-knot" is a fashionable device formed by the ends of the long hair (which could explain the omission of the coil at the back of the head) brushed up to the crown, bound together and curled into loosely waving strands on either sides of the knot, which is invariably the *nodus*

⁶¹ Thompson 1963, p.39; Bell 1981, p.66.

⁶² This feature is typical of late 4th and early 3rd centuries B.C. terracotta female figurines at Troy: Thompson 1961, p.40.

⁶³ This type of circlet is found at Troy on heads of 3rd century B.C.: Thompson 1963, p.44.

⁶⁴ Bieber 1961, figs.120-122, p.44; Bernoulli 1901, I, pp.88ff. fig.14; Reinach S. *Rev.Arch* XXXII, 1898, pp.164ff., pl.5.; Espérandieu 1913, V, p.146ff, no.3899.

⁶⁵ Bieber 1961, fig.123; Gacbler H. *Die antiken münzen nord-Griechenlands*. III, part.2. *Die antiken münzen von Makedonia und Paionia "Orthagoria"*. 1935, p.92ff. 1-3, pl.XVII, nos.21-23.

*Herculeus*⁶⁶. The combination of melon coiffure and bow-knot is found only with the later style of the coiffure, in the full 3rd century B.C.⁶⁷

On both heads F5a and F5b, particularly F5a, the details of the coiffure, such as the cross-markings at right angles to the course of the waves, the criss-cross of the braids on the coil, the fine lines at the root of the hair on the forehead of F5b, are underlined by deep and shallow incisions with a sharp tool.

The hairstyle displayed by head F6bI, with middle parting and short layered locks swept towards the face, has a distinct masculine character, recalling the 2nd century B.C. Alexander iconography of the late Hellenistic Asiatic models. On this head, two large semi-circular curls stand up on the forehead, a characteristic often encountered on male figures in the later Hellenistic period. The expression full of longing and pathos of the face is a reflection of the later portraits of the Macedonian king. The "lion's mane" with long, straight hair, the wide circular curls as on the Azara herm, are all derived from Lysippean models, but adopted for the flamboyant late Hellenistic style⁶⁸.

Female terracotta votive heads following this style have been dated by Comella to the 3rd and 2nd centuries B.C.⁶⁹ F6bI, however, differs in one detail: the forelocks form two wide, almost circular, curls curving, not to the sides of the face, but inwards over the forehead. At the sides of the face is a series of short strands pointing forward over the cheeks and in front of the ears. At the back the hair is kept long but close to the head and nape of the neck. The rendering of the side locks recalls that of male Group 17, to which this head is also associated typologically.

⁶⁶ Thompson 1963, p.42. As is the case on this head, the modelling of the knot is not always sufficiently clear for identification. There are, however, a few identified examples such as on the Apollo Belvedere: Bieber 1961, fig.200; and on the Capitoline Venus: Bieber 1961, fig.34.

⁶⁷ Thompson 1963, p.43.

⁶⁸ Bieber 1964, pp.64-65, 70.

⁶⁹ Comella 1981, p.786, BX, fig.25.

Two close parallels for F6bI are in the MGE, one with slightly longer hairstyle⁷⁰, the other showing some similarities in the way the hair clings to the neck, but of different frontal modelling⁷¹. A votive head from Tarquinia presents strong similarities with F6bI in facial type and hairstyle. Unfortunately the top part of the head is missing, therefore it is impossible to know if the circular forelocks were also represented⁷². The head, compared to Tarentine antefixes of Hellenistic period, is dated to the middle of the 3rd century B.C.⁷³ However, the hairstyle represented on the antefix from Tarentum shows a mane of unruly, curly locks, falling quite freely on the neck. On the head from Tarquinia, like on F6bI, the hair clings tightly to the neck in a sort of inward movement of the strands.

A more pertinent connection with Tarentum can be found in a series of terracotta medallions with gorgon head, of which a good example is a *gorgoneia* in the *Antikenmuseum* in Basel, which shows the same middle parting of the hair, large forelocks and a series of side locks curling inwards on the cheeks and sides. The terracotta, dated to the late 3rd-early 2nd centuries B.C., is stylistically dependent from microasiatic models, particularly Pergamene coins of 3rd century B.C. date, and from the sculpture of the frieze on Great Altar of Pergamon of early 2nd century B.C.⁷⁴.

The same hairstyle can be found on an Etruscan votive bronze statuette of a youth dated to the 3rd-2nd centuries B.C. in a Swiss private collection⁷⁵ and one in the British Museum⁷⁶. The hairstyle is shorter on the nape of the neck and fuller, more similar to the "lion's mane" of Alexander. However, the distinctive, overstated front curls and inward-turning locks are present. A certain resemblance in facial type and hair rendering can be found with some

⁷⁰ Inv.no.1356.

⁷¹ Inv.no.13909: Hafner 1965, pl.21, no.4.

⁷² Comella 1982, B2II, pl.30b.

⁷³ Laviosa 1954, p.242, no.35, pl.LXXIX: 4.

⁷⁴ Herdejürgen 1978, p.64, no.A 68.

⁷⁵ Mitten-Doeringer 1967, p.183, no.187.

⁷⁶ Walters 1899, 113 no.683.

small terracotta masks 3 from Amisos in the Louvre, dated to the 2nd half of the 2nd century B.C.⁷⁷

Heads F6aII and F6bII show certain characteristics, including the hair arrangement, that define them as late Hellenistic: the tilt of the head, the pathos expressed by the face, the parted lips, but particularly the unruly mane of the hair, rendered at the front with two large pointed S-shaped curls falling across the forehead. This feature is found on some heads in the Lowie Museum from the Caeretan votive dump at "Vignaccia", where they belong to a late phase in the deposit dated to the 2nd century B.C.⁷⁸

D x x1 ; D x x11

A few examples in the BM's collection show a simple, but not so common coiffure, with hair parted in the middle, falling straight at the sides of the face. Possibly, the simplicity of the style is also the reason for its lack of popularity. It seems, not only from the examination of the heads in this collection, that distinctive, if not elaborate, coiffure were generally preferred, as a reflection of contemporary fashions, or for a desire to display elegance and distinction.

The head that best exemplifies this simple style is small head F2cII. On this terracotta the hair is parted, drawn to the sides of the face, falling plainly over the ears to the shoulder. The straight strands are emphasized by neat, linear incisions in the clay. This small head is the only example in the collection to wear a thick wreath, carefully patterned with stippled dots and dashes. This kind of ring, or doughnut shaped wreaths, is often represented on Tanagra figurines and on other small terracottas, but is rare on votive heads.

The real wreath was made of hundreds of small flowers, threaded on a flexible rope of grass, tied to the head at the ends by ribbons. Such wreaths have been found in Egypt and one example is preserved in Toronto at the Royal Ontario Museum of Archaeology⁷⁹. Wreaths become popular in the Hellenistic period,

⁷⁷ Basques 1972, pl.110, b, D508.

⁷⁸ Nagy 1988, pp.18-19, IA30-IA43, figs.47-63.

⁷⁹ Thompson 1963, p.46, pl.LX, a.

first in Egypt, and, in the later part of the 2nd century B.C., all over the Greek world⁸⁰.

A very similar hair rendering is shown on the large head of statue F4g, with the curtain-like parting over the forehead and the compact, straight hair falling to shoulder level, covering the ears. On head F4g the hair is indicated as a fairly flat, almost wig-like mass, the strands evidenced by incisions. This head also displays a wreath, a narrow circular band with a criss-cross pattern incised on it, to indicate its floral composition. This narrow variety of wreath is believed to be much earlier in date than the thick one. The association of this hairstyle with the wreath is unusual; on Tanagra figurines the wreath is generally combined with the melon or Knidian coiffures⁸¹.

Head Fma shows an hair arrangement that, in its plainness, is related to the previous examples. On this head the parting is moved to the right side, the locks of hair fall close to the face covering the ears, rather curly and slightly untidy. However, this head belongs to the same type as head F4e, and possibly the curls falling to the sides of the face are a reminder of the side corkscrew curls.

Heads F6aI and F6c display a coiffure with long hair and disorderly fringe. Both heads show a similar facial type inspired by late Hellenistic models of the Alexander iconography⁸².

Head F6c has a unequivocal male essence. The hairstyle also seems to be more suited to male types inspired by late Hellenistic portraits, unlike head F6aI, where a female coiffure is definitely intended. The coiffure is basically that of the long, straight hair cascading freely on the neck and shoulder, here combined with a peculiarly disorderly fringe. On both heads the hair starts from the crown of the head and the fringe radiates forward.

⁸⁰ Thompson 1963, p.47.

⁸¹ Thompson 1963, pls.LI, LII, LIII, LIV.

⁸² The type of the Alexander head in the BM of 2nd century B.C.: BM Cat. of Sculpt.III, no.1857; Laurenzi 1941, p.126, pl.XXXIV, no.86; Bieber 1964, pp.58-59, fig.53. pl.XXV.

On F6aI the strands are defined in fairly massive sections, turning inwards like pincers over the forehead, in a manner common on male heads⁸³. A feminine touch is offered by the end tendrils curling in a perky manner along the forehead. A similar device is found on the neck, where the ends of the longer strands show a kink around the base ring. The ears are left free and display a pair of inverted cone and disc pendent earrings, of a type common in central Italy in the 3rd and 2nd centuries B.C.

III The hairstyle on the male heads

Male hairstyles are less representative than female hairstyles. Unlike female fashions, that spread rapidly and outlive shortly the change of trends in real life, styles on male votive heads are conservative and often based on idealised models: the young athlete, the youthful Alexander, the eastern ruler. As such they can be in use for a longer period of time.

The late Archaic period is outside the boundaries of this work, however, one of the smaller heads wear the style of the period: MM6. On this head the hair rendering, a short straight-sided, close fitting cap with a well defined edge, is of a sort which becomes fashionable in central Italy in the late 6th century B.C., coexisting with longer hairstyles. This coiffure is found on numerous small Etruscan votive bronzes of the late Archaic period, described by E. Richardson as "Kouroi series B group 2": the general description of the type corresponds perfectly to Mm6⁸⁴. The skull is broad and short, the upper surface makes a low dome and the sides tend to be vertical, the face is broad with a low forehead, big eyes, set horizontally, and sweeping eyebrows of purely Etruscan quality, flat cheeks and square jaw. The hair makes a heavy roll (the fringe) across the forehead and in front of the ears, framing the upper part of the face in an emphatic rectangle so that, in front view, it seems to be a square set in a cube⁸⁵. The manufacturer of this small votive terracotta is clearly imitating contemporary votive bronze-works.

⁸³ M14a, M14b.

⁸⁴ Richardson 1983, series B, group 2, pp.150-153, pls.92-98; particularly fig.347, pl.98.

⁸⁵ Richardson 1983, p.148.

The male heads can be arranged, according to their coiffure, in ten classes displaying:

- -short hair like a cap
- -short hair with compact fringe
- -longer hair with undulating locks turning to one side over the forehead
- -short curly hair with two circular facing locks over the forehead
- -short locks slightly parted over the forehead
- -short curly hair with locks on the forehead like pincers
- -short cropped hair wind-swept going in all directions
- -longer straighter hair with forelocks to one side
- -long "lion's mane"
- heads with beard

The first style is manifested as a cap which closely follows the shape of the skull forming a semicircular arch over the forehead. Specific renditions of this hairstyle vary, the individual strands of hair are rarely modelled and may, at times, have been delineated by paint. Occasionally, locks of hair are indicated by incisions. This coiffure is common on 3rd and 2nd centuries B.C. votive terracottas and is typical of the middle-Italic artistic tradition⁸⁶.

Several examples of this hairstyle are present amongst the male heads in the BM's collection. Heads M10bI, II, III present only a few, shallowly incised, strands of hair across the head, but on M10a is an interesting detail that relates this head with works of Myron, particularly with a copy of the *Dyscobolus* in the Vatican. At the sides of the face, in front of the ears, are a few curly ringlets, forming a triangular-shaped area pointing towards the cheek. This

⁸⁶ Cruder examples from Capua with long necks are dated to the 4th-3rd centuries B.C.: Bonghi Jovino 1965, p.24, pl.XXXV, 1-4; Vessberg 1941, p.176, pl.21, nos.3-4; pl.22, no.3.

detail is repeated, almost exactly, on the Vatican marble, where, in profile, the slightly curly hairline, from the temple towards the triangle, also corresponds.

Head M13c shows the same tight fitting cap scheme, but on this example the few incisions indicating the hair strands at the front, suggest a slight middle parting.

This head introduces the next class, with compact straight fringe, or slightly parted into well defined strands. This style, also typical of middle-Italic artistic tradition, exhibits hair combed forward, over the top of the skull and the forehead. The length is slightly longer than in the previous examples, particularly at the sides. This style is longlived, the most notable example is found on the bronze head of a boy in Florence, of late 4th century B.C.⁸⁷, and is still widely represented on cinerary ash urns and sarcophagi of the 3rd and 2nd centuries B.C.⁸⁸ This hairstyle is well represented amongst the votive heads from Capua, dated to the 3rd-2nd centuries B.C.⁸⁹

The three heads in the BM's collection that best represent this hairstyle, M11a, M11bI and M11II, are comparable to the bronze head in Florence, not only in the coiffure but in the facial type and representation. This group can be dated, by the densely "chiselled" strands of hair still akin to the bronze work, to the earlier part of the 3rd century B.C.

Head M11c shows a cruder version of the hairstyle, in the same middle-Italic tradition. The hair composition is similar to that on the bronze head from Florence, neatly arranged in two rows of locks from the crown of the head to the forehead. The length of the hair on the nape of the neck, the way in which the hair encircles the ear without hiding it, and the slightly thicker ringlet in front of the ear are also features shared with the famous bronze. On the terracotta head the hair strands are curlier, with a kink at the end of each ringlet, particularly on the fringe framing the face. However, the

⁸⁷ Giglioli 1935, pl.366, fig.I; Kaschnitz-Weinberg 1926, pp137-138, pls.1-2; Brendel 1978, fig.305.

⁸⁸ Kaschnitz-Weinberg 1926, p.133; Comella 1982, p.25; Herbig 1952, p.59, III, pl.70, 96c-d; Maggiani 1976, p.21.

⁸⁹ Bonghi Jovino 1965, pp.24-25, *Group N*, pls.XXXVI-XXXVII-XXXVIII.

correspondence between the hairstyle of the two heads is unmistakable. Even the details, defined by incisions, within each lock of hair are repeated in a similar manner.

Heads M17bI, M17bII⁹⁰, M17bIII, M17bIV (where the hair is longer on the neck as on M17a) and M17bV show the same short hair, hardly defined except on the compact, full fringe framing the face with the strands divided in sections. The way in which the hair is rendered on these examples, is the same found on numerous figures of deceased reclining on Tuscanian terracotta sarcophagi, dated from the middle 3rd to the end of the 2nd centuries B.C.⁹¹ The same type of fringe is also present on votive heads from the deposit at the Ara della Regina in Tarquinia. The earlier examples are dated to the second half of the 3rd century B.C., the later to the end 2nd, early 1st centuries B.C.⁹²

Heads M12aII and M12b display a slight parting of a straight, flatter fringe. On head M12aI the hair strands on the top of the head, partly covered by a *velum*, are twisted, suggesting a rather curly crop of hair. However, a narrow, straight and compact strip above the forehead represents a fringe, not dissimilar from the one on heads M11a, M11bI and M11bII.

Heads M18a and M18b also display a short hairstyle with fringe, but the locks and strands are not as regular as on the previous examples but rather curly and free, betraying the influence of Hellenistic portraiture. This version of the fringe hairstyle is dated, at the votive deposit at the Ara della Regina, to the second century B.C.⁹³

The hairstyle displayed by head M15a is also dependent from Hellenistic sculpture, where the long flowing locks are characteristic of the ruler portraits. On this example the curly hair is longer on the neck, framing the face in a

⁹⁰ The rendering of the hair on this head is very close to that of a half head from Tarquinia, with the same high, slightly projecting cranium, hair strands incised across it from the crown and on the nape of the neck and with the slight swelling of the fringe framing the face: Comella 1982, MT B1 XIII 1, pl.29a.

⁹¹ Türr 1969, p.31.

⁹² Comella 1982, p.25, B1 XVI, B1 XXI.

⁹³ Comella 1981, p.779, AIV; Comella 1982, BII-BIHI.

series of undulating locks on the forehead, running almost parallel to the brow from right to left. On M15a the length and shape of the hair are reminiscent of the later portraits of Alexander, depicting the Macedonian king as a youthful, idealised figure. The locks over the forehead appear to be the result of a free adaptation of the type and a simplified version of the ruffled style displayed also by other Hellenistic ruler portraits, like that of Demetrios Poliorketes⁹⁴.

The model for the hairstyle reproduced on this head may have reached central Italy via Tarentum, where it is attested on terracotta heads⁹⁵ and on head vases, remarkably similar in facial type to this votive head, dated not later than 300 B.C.⁹⁶ This hairstyle is found on other votive heads of the same type. Virtually identical but veiled are one head in Copenhagen⁹⁷, and one in Mainz⁹⁸. A 3rd century B.C. terracotta votive statue of a youth from Campania, possibly Cales, displays a similar, but longer, hairstyle⁹⁹. The assimilation of the Alexander hairstyle via southern Italy, must inevitably take some time. However, the strong likeness between the votive head and the head-vase from Tarentum suggests a dating within the 3rd century B.C.

The "lion's mane" style featured on some portraits of Alexander, like the Azara Herm in the Louvre considered a copy of a work by Lysippus, is very popular on votive heads. According to Hafner, in central Italy the hairstyle is fashionable from the first half of the 3rd century B.C. throughout the 2nd century B.C.¹⁰⁰

⁹⁴ Richter 1965, III, figs.1741-1732; Laurenzi 1941, no.50; Smith 1988, pls.4-5.

⁹⁵ Wuilleumier 1939, pl.30, 6.

⁹⁶ *CVA*. Great Britain no.474, British Museum 1932, Fasc.7, IV Da pl. 19,5; Hafner 1966-7, p.45, pl.15, no.1.

⁹⁷ Breitenstain 1941, no.804, pl.102.

⁹⁸ Inv.no.22358, Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseum: Hafner 1966-7, pl.15, no.3.

⁹⁹ The facial type is also close and betrays a common prototype: In the Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek. Fischer-Hansen 1992, pp.176-177, no.130; Poulsen V 1969, p.22; *Den Etruskiske Samling*. N.C.G. ed.V.Poulsen. Copenhagen 1966, cat.no.H7; BT2.2; Mansuelli 1966, pp.1-72; Hafner 1969, p.149; Bianchi Bandinelli 1973, p.234; *Santuari d'Etruria*, p.41, no.1.27.1.

¹⁰⁰ Hafner 1966-7, pp.42-44; *Civiltà degli Etruschi*, p.387.

The "lion's mane" is represented on head M16d. In this case it is similar also to the one on the "Eubuleus", a likeness of Alexander from the Agora¹⁰¹, but particularly to a small marble head in Alexandria, possibly a copy of a work by Lysippus¹⁰². The hair, parted in the middle, is divided over the forehead in two prominent curls, or forelocks; on the sides of the face and on the neck the hair tumbles freely, long and curly, covering the ears. At the top of the head is a narrow fillet.

The hairstyle displayed by heads M17a, M17aII, M17aIII, M17aIV, and M17aV, is a reflection of the style made fashionable by the portraits of the Macedonian King as on the Dresden Alexander¹⁰³. The strong resemblance between the heads of this popular group and the Dresden type has been noted by Hafner for the numerous examples in the MGE, which he describes as a "mirror image" of the portrait of the king¹⁰⁴. Although not quite a mirror image, it is undoubtable that the type of the Dresden Alexander is the model from which the prototype for these votive heads was fashioned. Particularly evident is the correspondence of the large forelock over the forehead, slightly undulating to one side, and of the snaky, long strands spreading towards the sides of the face. Hafner dates this hairstyle to the first half of the 3rd century B.C.¹⁰⁵ The fullness and vigour of the hairstyle, as represented on the Dresden Alexander, is still present on some of the examples in the MGE and on M17V, but it is lacking on the other heads of Group 17, where the rendering is slightly flatter.

From the numerous portraits of Alexander, possibly, originates the type with two small circular facing locks over the forehead, reproduced on heads M15bI, M15bII and M15c. A similar hair rendering is displayed by head M16c, which

¹⁰¹ On the Azara Herm the hair is shorter: Bieber 1964, pl.V, 10 a-b.

¹⁰² Schreiber 1903, pl.IB, pp.41-43.

¹⁰³ Known from two marble copies in the Dresden Museum, Dressel Collection: Bieber 1964, p.27, pl.7, fig.12; Smith 1988, pl.3, cat.no.3A.

¹⁰⁴ Hafner 1966-67, p.44, pl.14, nos.1-4.

¹⁰⁵ J.Turfa's dating to the 2nd century B.C. is too conservative: Turfa 1986, no.3.

appears to be inspired by the type of Scopas's Meleager¹⁰⁶. On this head two wide, facing locks are present, more open than on the other examples, in the manner of the Azara Herm. In profile, these last four heads show a common feature: three S-shaped curls at the sides of the face between the forehead and the ear. This detail is particularly evident on heads M15bI, M15bII and M16c.

The hairstyle inspired by the portraits of Alexander showing flowing locks on the neck and wide facing locks on the forehead, is attested on numerous votive terracottas. At the deposit of the Ara della Regina in Tarquinia, is present on heads of late 3rd century B.C. but it is most common in the 2nd century B.C.¹⁰⁷ On Etruscan ash urns and sarcophagi, this style is present until the early 1st century B.C.¹⁰⁸

Of Classicistic inspiration is the hairstyle on heads M13aI and M13aII. These heads derive their style from Attic works, in particular from the young athlete type of Lysippus, combined with a hairstyle of short locks, slightly parted over the forehead, and clusters of ringlets in front of the ears, as on the Doryphorus of Polyclitus. This group of votive heads, common particularly at Caere¹⁰⁹, has been dated to the late 4th and earlier 3rd centuries B.C.¹¹⁰; however, a dating in the middle of the 3rd century is more credible¹¹¹.

The hairstyle of heads M16a and M13b is very clearly the replica of the style of the Apoxyomenos by Lysippus, particularly that on head M16a, very close to its famous model also in facial type and pose¹¹². This type of head is

¹⁰⁶ Particularly as reproduced on a much later copy in the Fogg Art Museum, Harvard, originally from Santa Marinella: Hanfmann-Pedley 1964, pp.61-65, pls.58-72.

¹⁰⁷ Comella 1982, p.26, deposit E1.

¹⁰⁸ Maggiani 1976, pp.37-38.

¹⁰⁹ The type, with the same hairstyle, is present in several examples from Caere in the MGE and in the Cerveteri Museum: Group 13.

¹¹⁰ Vessberg 1941, p.167; Riis 1981, p.82.

¹¹¹ Female votive heads from Caere, as F2a, of late 4th and 3rd centuries B.C., are still permeated of Severe squareness in their features. These more rounded, softer male heads must be somewhat later in date.

¹¹² Hafner 1966-67, p.40; *Civiltà degli Etruschi*, p.386; *Enea nel Lazio*, p.263.

documented in central Italian votive deposits of the 3rd and 2nd centuries B.C. The close resemblance of the type with the original model and a certain similarity with the preceding style of M13a, ascribes the introduction of this style to the middle of the 3rd century B.C.

Inspired by Polycleitan models is the hairstyle on heads M14a and M14b, with symmetrical curling locks on the forehead like pincers. Comparable is the hair rendering on a copy of the Herakles of Polyclitus from Herculaneum, in the Museo Nazionale in Naples¹¹³. A marble head in the Royal Museum and Art Gallery, Canterbury, identified by C.C.Vermeule as a portrait of Ptolemy III Evergetes (247-222 B.C.), is an accurate parallel for the hairstyle displayed by the two votive terracottas¹¹⁴. On the marble head the same middle parting is present with the pointed pincers over the forehead, and similar thick ringlets in front of the ears and at the sides of the face. This hairstyle is displayed on votive heads from later deposits¹¹⁵.

Four male heads in the BM's collection wear a beard. Beards are not a common feature on votive heads, and most examples are atypical. Given their size, weight and lack of base, they may, in some cases, have been part of statues or architectural decoration.

From about 500 B.C. onwards, the beardless look is normal for male figures, on Etruscan as well as Greek art, but older men always wear beards and mature men still wear them in the full Classical period. It was the fashion introduced by the young, smooth-cheek looks of Alexander, by the end of the 4th century B.C., that finally caused beards to go completely out of style, even for more mature men. According to tradition the beard went out of use in Italy at that

¹¹³ Bianchi Bandinelli 1938, pl.IX, no.49.

¹¹⁴ Inv.no.7850, said to have been acquired in Turkey: Vermeule C. *AJA* LXIII, 1959, p.146, pl.36, fig.9; Smith 1988, pl.66, nos.1-3, cat.120.

¹¹⁵ At the deposit of Minerva Medica in Rome it is dated, possibly too excessively, to the second half of the 1st century B.C.: Gatti lo Guzzo 1978, p.174, pls.XXXVI, GXa-GXb1; XXXVII, GXIa1, GXIb1.

time¹¹⁶. Chronologically this would explain the scarcity of bearded heads in most deposits.

Head M8b is a silene, his face framed by a dense, rounded beard and hanging whiskers reaching from ear to ear as a continuous mass of curling, stylized locks, little delineated. The type of the bearded silene is very popular on architectural antefixes, and a close parallel for this type can be found on a fragment of beard and mustache in the Museo Nazionale Romano, dated to the late 5th first half 4th century B.C. This head shows thin, hanging mustache and compact, almost oval-shaped beard, the locks worked only superficially and symmetrically placed¹¹⁷. This style of beard, stemming from Severe tradition, is best exemplified by an antefix from Chiusi of late 5th century B.C.¹¹⁸

The remaining three bearded heads are more unusual and have no direct parallels. They belong to the local artistic tradition in Etruria, that, between the late 4th and the early 2nd centuries B.C., portrays powerful male heads, a few bearded. The Etruscan-Italic origin is confirmed by stylistic similarities with bronze and stone works and by the lack of comparison with south Italian works¹¹⁹.

Head M8a is, like the head of silene to which is also akin in facial type, still influenced by the Severe style. This influence is visible in the linear stylization on the hair and on the full, long beard with hanging whiskers, where the typical, circular ringlets are present in a neat row on the forehead and sides. The details of the hair and beard and the likeness with the previous head date this example to the early 4th century B.C.

¹¹⁶ Varro *De re rust.* II, 11, 10. Livy relates an amusing anecdote about the old senators who remained in Rome during the Gallic invasion of 390 B.C. Their dignified attire and the magnificence of their triumphal robes at first halted the barbarians. When a Gaul pulled the beard of one of the senators in order to see if it was a statue or a real person- "for at that time", explains Livy, "men wore their beards long", the old man hit the impudent on the head with his ivory staff. Livy 5.41.

¹¹⁷ Inv.no.263990, Pensabene-Sanzi di Mino 1983, pl.XIV, no.42.

¹¹⁸ Andren 1944, p.256, no.I:7, pl.87, 310.

¹¹⁹ Part 3, Catalogue: Group 8.

Head M8c is the best example in the group, its superior quality suggesting a purpose other than votive, possibly as part of a group of architectural decoration. Two rows of tight hook-shaped curls, the only reminder of the Severe style, symmetrically placed are present on the sides of a short beard which merges with the hair in front of the ears. The mouth is surrounded by trimmed moustache, indicated by diagonal incised lines. The hair is rendered very much like on M9a, except on the forehead where a sort of middle parting is indicated. The hairstyle is inspired by the Greek art of the Classical period, the treatment of the locks with the slight parting over the forehead reflects Polycleitan models.

Short beards with two or three rows of curls can be found also on Italic votive bronzes, like the head from Falterona, probably of Chiusine manufacture, in the British Museum, dated to c.425-400 B.C., also displaying a similar hairstyle with short undulating locks¹²⁰.

Head M8d is possibly the latest example in this group of bearded heads. The type of this head recalls closely the stone portrait of *Arnth Paipnas* from Tarquinia dated to the 3rd century B.C.¹²¹. The stone portrait and the votive head show the same hairstyle, inspired by earlier Classical models. This hairstyle is found also on a bronze head from an Etruscan statue in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris dated to the 3rd-2nd centuries B.C.¹²² On these heads the hair follows closely the shape of the skull, modelled in a series of short, overlapping, flame-like tufts, with a slight parting over the forehead. The clipped beard is rendered in a very similar manner to the portrait of *Arnth Paipnas* and also to the beard on the famous statue of the "Brutus" in the *Palazzo dei Conservatori* in Rome, of early 3rd century B.C., with flame-like bristles to the cheeks and chin. A similar treatment of the beard is found on a male figure in the fresco of the Tarquinian *Tomba degli scudi* of third quarter 4th century¹²³. Bearded heads are very rare in this period, male figures on

¹²⁰ Inv.no.47.11-1.3; H.7.9cm: Haynes 1985, no.143, pl.207, pp.297-8.

¹²¹ Brendel 1978, pp.398-9, fig.307; Bianchi Bandinelli- Giuliano 1985, fig.325, p.285.

¹²² Haynes 1985, no.189, pl.236, Bianchi Bandinelli-Giuliano 1985, fig.290.

¹²³ Bianchi Bandinelli-Giuliano 1985, fig.329, p.286.

sarcophagi are almost all shaven, confirming the contemporary statements of Roman writers with modern finds.

The *velum* present on so many votive heads is, of course, not intended as an ornamental addition to the hairstyle, but is an attribute connected with the religious rituals. The *velum* on votive heads becomes a common feature in Latium towards the end of the 4th century¹²⁴, where they represent the more numerous group¹²⁵. In the BM's collection the number of female veiled heads equals that with *aperto capite*. It has often been noted that votive heads represented wearing the *velum* come from the Roman territory¹²⁶. In Rome, both male and female, veiled heads are predominant, the same is true for many of the Latin colonies as they would follow the religious rites of Rome which prescribed the *caput velatum*, while unveiled heads are predominant in Etruria and Campania¹²⁷.

¹²⁴ In the 5th and 4th centuries B.C. only very few examples of veiled heads survive from Lavinium: La Regina *Lavinium* 1975, pp.197-198, C2-C4, C7, figs.256-259, and none from Etruria.

¹²⁵ For the predominance of votive veiled heads in Latium: Comella 1981, pp.782-785, B III-B VI, figs.18-21.

¹²⁶ Pensabene 1980, pp.218-219.

¹²⁷ Pensabene 1979, pp.218-219; Comella 1982, pp.32-40.

Chapter 9

THE TECHNIQUE OF MANUFACTURE

The literature on this subject is vast and nothing new can be added here to the present knowledge; however, this work would be incomplete without an overall picture of the way in which the votive terracottas were manufactured. Some of the standard works on the production stages of the terracottas are devised for Greek figurines and other small clay objects¹; in more recent years the increased interest for the study of Italic votive deposits has led to more specific research in this field².

I The raw material

From the Renaissance period onward, the Italian word *Terracotta*³ is used, in most languages, to indicate objects made of clay, more or less depurated, fired to differing hardness to acquire a colouring varying from reddish to yellow. We know from ancient authors of the existence in Greece of celebrated statues and other plastic works of art made entirely, or partly, of clay⁴. However, the very few surviving examples from Greece and the scarce mention of such works of art by other authors, suggest that the Greeks used terracotta only rarely for votive, commemorative or cult statues.

¹ Nicholls 1952, pp.217-226.

² In particular the work carried out for the terracottas at Veii Campetti: Vagnetti 1971, pp.155-165; Beskow 1979, pp.37-43; at Capua: Bonghi Jovino 1965, pp.19-20; at Rome: Gatti Lo Guzzo 1978, pp.147-149; at Lavinium: *Enea nel Lazio*, pp.265-267; at Tarquinia: Comella 1982, pp.23-24.

³ Hydrate aluminum silicate (alumina, silica, either flint or quartz and water), additional material to make the clay suitable for firing as cooled volcanic matter.

⁴ Pliny *N.H.* XXXV, 66, 155; Pausanias I, 2, 5; I, 3, I; I, 4, 4; VII, 2 2, 9.

Most of the archaeological finds of this kind come from Cyprus and, of course, Italy. In Sicily and south Italy coroplastic statuary is common already in the archaic period, but it is in Etruria, Latium and Campania, that sculpture in terracotta was developed to its highest standard, due essentially to the absence of quality stone for carving in these areas.

According to Pliny, Demaratus, considered in Etruria the father of Tarquinius Priscus king of Rome, was accompanied in his flight from Corinth by the clay moulders, Eucheir, Diopos and Eugrammos. They will, according to tradition, introduce coroplastic art into Italy⁵. The literary tradition reflects an archaeological reality, as the import of Corinthian vases in central Italy became important from the 7th century B.C. Pliny, quoting Varro, says that the art of working clay was very advanced in Italy and particularly in Etruria⁶. In another passage he mentions how, until the conquest of Asia in the 2nd century B.C., it was customary in Italy to dedicate in the temples cult statues made of wood or terracotta in preference to other materials⁷.

Central Italy, in particular, is a region rich in natural clay, but the raw material for the terracottas was readily available in most areas⁸. We can assume that the clay used for the heads and other terracotta votives was gathered locally near the centres of production or the workshops. Before being used the clay was left to "season" for some time; if it was used to make small objects needed to be purified, otherwise it was mixed to sand and grog, or *pozzolana*, (small crushed fragments of terracotta). This process was necessary in order to prevent breakages and distortion, as pure clay contracts considerably during the firing process. All the larger heads and most of the small ones present such inclusions.

⁵ Pliny *N.H.*, XXXV, 152.

⁶ Pliny *N.H.*, XXXV, 157.

⁷ Pliny *N.H.*, XXXIV, 34.

⁸ Extracted from numerous natural clay deposits and along the river banks.

II The stages of production

The majority of the votive heads are mass produced from a matrix or mould. The matrix is obtained from a prototype (or archetype or *patrix*), hand-made and specifically created for this purpose⁹. The matrices could also be made from an already existing terracotta (or positive), and sometimes the same prototype is used to create a variety of matrices¹⁰.

The creation of a prototype, the original, is the stage in the production of terracottas where the artistic ability and originality of the creator is put to use. The prototype is generally retouched with a sharp, pointed tool, or *stecca*, to create and enhance the finer details required on the matrix. As the clay hardens, greater precision of details may be added by cutting back slightly with the tool while in the dry state the surface is probably burnished with a cloth. Some details are not indicated on the prototype and appear only as blanks, such as hair treatment, eyebrows, eye outline, pupils, edges and corners of mouth, details of ears etc. The ears may, or may not, be part of one of the two moulds; sometimes they can be added to the finished product.

The prototype is then fired at a high temperature¹¹, next the mould is made from it. To make a mould the prototype is first coated with a thin layer of animal fat for protection, then a thick layer of wet clay is pressed with the thumbs (thumb marks can often be seen on the objects) over the front of the prototype until the required thickness is obtained and it is then left to harden just enough so that it can be lifted off the prototype. If allowed to dry too long it may contract and crack. The details not appearing on the prototype are now cut in *intaglio* on the mould. *Intaglio* work on the mould results in sharp raised masses on the finished product but on the mould produces sharp, sunken ones.

The retouching can create a dramatically different result from the original prototype, a totally new type, a female head can be modified to become a male,

⁹ For terminology: Fridh-Haneson 1983, p.23, note 3; Barra Bagnasco 1986, p.21.

¹⁰ For example to create male and female types, as in the deposit at Carsoli: Marinucci 1976, p.13; or to produce architectural decoration and votives.

¹¹ However, most earthenware type clay in central Italy requires minimum temperature for firing to a durable hardness.

and a young male can be turned into a balding or bearded, wrinkled middle aged one¹².

If only the front mould is required no further work is necessary, if the back of the head is also modelled then the clay must be cut vertically and a rear mould has to be made, following the same procedure. The different parts are assembled later in the dry state and stuck together with moist clay. Clay additions and seams between backs and fronts are made by wetting, pressing together and smoothing the clay; in addition the seams are often reinforced with coils of clay.

After being removed the mould is left to dry until "leather hard" on a surface that provides enough support so as not to encourage it to warp under its own weight. Then the object is re-worked with the same modelling tool used previously on the prototype, adding the details that may differentiate one matrix from the other. When thoroughly dry the mould is ready for firing in the kiln. The temperature of the kiln has to be higher when firing the mould than when firing the terracottas themselves, since the mould has to be harder in order to be used several times. The mould is now ready for the production of the finished heads.

A mould can only produce a limited number of copies before losing definition of details and be discarded. Therefore, in order to produce a considerable number of terracottas, several moulds have to be produced from the same prototype, often varying enormously in details and incisiveness. If an existing figure was re-cast because of a worn, lost or broken mould, the most detailed, closer to the prototype, example available was presumably chosen, cleaned up and duplicated.

Little evidence is available for the kilns used to fire the terracottas, but they were essentially of simple form and no doubt the same as those used for pottery¹³. They were of clay and divided horizontally in two parts, a lower combustion chamber sunken in the ground where the fuel would be placed and,

¹² Kaschnitz-Weinberg 1926, pl.7, nos.1-2, pl.8, nos.1-2; Kilmer 1977, figs.177-180; MGE inv.nos.13852, 13854, 13871.

¹³ Richter 1946, p.33.

above it, separated from the combustion chamber by a grate, was an upper dôme chamber in which the heads would be placed. There were three openings, one at the bottom for the fuel, one at the side to receive the objects to be fired and to serve as a spy-hole, one at the top to let out the smoke and to permit the regulation of the temperature. The required temperature was between 750°C and 950°C, a temperature much lower than that used to fire pottery¹⁴.

Generally, the clay for terracottas is much softer than that used for ceramics, as they do not require the same strength and impermeability and can vary in colour considerably within one single fabric. Although the chemical composition of the clay partly determines its colour after firing, differences within the same fabric and often the same piece must be ascribed to the changing atmospheric conditions in the kiln and different temperature of firing. Pottery requires constant atmosphere but for terracottas, which are to be decorated after firing, it makes no difference. If the clay has iron in its composition, an oxidizing atmosphere will redden it and a strongly reducing one will turn it gray. A neutral atmosphere will turn some clays cream, some yellow-ochre and a moderate reducing one will turn some clays brown.

It is also probable that open pits were used for firing the terracottas, with a short circular retaining wall to keep and direct the heat. This arrangement created a draft and raised the temperature to that needed for proper firing¹⁵.

III The problems of mass-production

The problem of the generations of matrices and their relation to the original prototype was studied first by Nicholls¹⁶. His work was designed for late archaic figurines from mainland Greece. However, the principle stands for all types of mould-made terracottas and is perhaps useful to summarise the main points of his study relevant to the votive heads.

¹⁴ Steingraber 1980, p.232.

¹⁵ Nagy 1988, pp.10-11.

¹⁶ Nicholls 1952, p.217-226.

Nicholls calls a group an assemblage of pieces that resemble each other in such a way to suggest that they were made by the same artisan or workshop. This is defined as a group of material closely related stylistically¹⁷.

Mould-made terracottas are mass-produced by a mechanical process, therefore pieces from the same mould can be identified, especially when they share some distinctive fault on the mould and identical dimensions. All the examples derived from one single matrix, or mould, are called replicas. The process of derivative production, as described by Nicholls, is the process where existing terracottas are used, in turn, as prototypes to create a new matrix of the same type but smaller in size.

The prototype is made following the process described above and from this, one or more moulds are taken. The mould obtained directly from the prototype is called first generation mould and the pieces produced from it are first generation terracottas¹⁸. They are already smaller in size than the prototype for obvious reasons. This first generation product can further be used to create more mould. These moulds will be of second generation and they will be, again, smaller in size. This process can be repeated several times with a regular and progressive loss of size.

All but the first generation terracottas can be from any workshop and of any clay or fabric; these subsequent generations are derivatives. Derivatives of this kind can be manufactured in workshops quite away from where the type was first created. The identification of pieces as mechanically related plays an important role in classification.

As several mould may be taken from a single prototype and as the details done in *intaglio* on them had to be cut fresh every time, the mould can show an

¹⁷ Nicholls stressed the point that, a classification of terracotta material by type is different from a stylistic classification. The production of individual workshops can spread over a wide range of types, while only very occasionally will any one type be the sole prerogative of any single workshop.

¹⁸ However, it has been noted that during the study of some terracotta groups, an example of larger dimensions of that already identified as the "prototype" would turn up, complicating the classification levels: Bonghi Jovino 1965, pp.16-19; Bookidis N. in *AJA* 72, 1968, pp.398-399; Della Torre Ciaghi 1980, p.XVI; Bonghi Jovino 1990, pp.28-29. It should be noted that such hand made examples have been recognised by some as the true prototype: Bonghi Jovino '*Classificazione*' in Della Torre Ciaghi 1980; Knoop 1987, pp.XII f.

element of variation in the rendering of such details. The result is a number of moulds different in some ways, similar in others. These are called by Nicholls parallel mould (variants). At times the reworking of a derivative mould obscures the original in such a way that the result shows little or no resemblance to the original and their relation is difficult to recognise.

Most workshops, from the evidence of the excavated deposits, reproduced types that were popular at the time and derivative production must have lengthened the period over which a single series continued to be made. The generation matrix from which the terracottas are made has been calculated for some votive deposits on the basis of technical observations on the reduction process. During the process necessary to obtain a matrix every step, from positive to negative and viceversa, results in a reduction in volume.

The percentage of reduction of terracottas was first studied by E.Jastrow¹⁹, who determined it to be 18% from a new matrix to its positive. Maria Bonghi Jovino on the terracottas from Capua, following the principles applied by Jastrow, measured all the examples belonging to derivatives of one matrix and ended with a reduction figure of 17%²⁰. Christina Beskow for some of the terracottas from the deposit at Veii Campetti, worked out a percentage reduction varying between 10% and 21% with an average of 15%, establishing a reduction percentage between two successive generations at 10-12%²¹.

IV Workshops and artisans

Analogy between architectural terracottas (antefixes) and votive heads has been remarked for some of the major sanctuary sites²². This occurrence is generally explained as the proof that the artists working on the decoration of

¹⁹ Jastrow 1941, pp.1-28.

²⁰ Bonghi Jovino 1965, pp.17-18; Bonghi Jovino 1990, pp.66-67 note 5.

²¹ Beskow 1978, p.37.

²² At Veii Campetti a number of votive heads are identical to antefixes from the temples of Veii Portonaccio and Sassi Caduti and Vignale at Falerii: Vagnetti 1966, pp.110-114; in Etruria: Riis 1941, pp.18, 20, 28, 32, 42, 51,52,54; in Campania: Bonghi Jovino 1965, p.42.

the temples were the same that, at least at certain sites, manufactured the votive objects in terracotta²³. However, as from the same prototypes are derived antefixes and votive heads not only from the same locality but from different sites, much speculation has been generated about the activity of the coroplasts and the circulation of prototypes²⁴.

In his major work on architectural terracottas from Etrusco-Italic temples, Andren, as van Buren before him, suggested that the decorators of the temples moved from one place to the other, the so-called "*coroplasti vaganti*", where work was required, carrying their matrices with them²⁵. This, in turn, would explain why terracottas obtained from the same matrix have been found at different sites²⁶.

Presumably more than one type of enterprise existed. Naturally the location, urban, village or rural settlement, plays an indicative role and the importance of the craftsmen within their communities must have been considerable²⁷.

²³ It has been noted that when votive terracottas and architectural antefixes are obtained from the same prototype, their quality is often quite different, with more care being lavished on the architectural decoration: Bedello Tata in Bonghi Jovino 1990, p.104.

²⁴ In case of uncertainty on the place of production of specific terracottas, a valuable aid would be the geological analyses of the clays to identify the source of the raw material: Cuomo Di Caprio N. 'Tecniche analitiche applicate a campioni ceramici di Tarquinia.' in Bonghi Jovino-Chiaramonte Treré 1987, pp.111-128.

²⁵ van Buren 1921, p.3; Andren 1940, p.CXIX. The story of Vulca, the great Veientine artist summoned to Rome to decorate the temple of Jove on the Capitoline, as related by the ancient authors seem to confirm this theory: Pliny *NH.*,XXXV, 157; Festus s.v., *Ratumenna porta*; Plutarch, 13; Servius *ad Aen.*, VII, 188. Later Andren changed his mind on the role of the "*coroplasti vaganti*" and reported that the idea was little realistic: Andren 1974, p.13.

²⁶ Examples from Veii, Rome and Velletri from a single matrix: Andren 1940, p.CXIX; Riis in *Acta Archaeologica* XII, 1941, p.78; Åkerstroem in *OR* I, 1954, p.228;; and antefixes from Velletri made from the same prototype as the Minerva from S.Omobono: Gjerstad *OR* III, 1961, p.89, figs.12-15; Vagnetti 1966, p.113.

²⁷ Particularly useful is a detailed study on craftsmen and workshops in pre-Roman Italy that takes into consideration the various factors in their relationship: socio-economic, commercial, artistic, religious: 'Artigiani e botteghe nell'Italia Preromana. Appunti e riflessioni per un sistema di analisi.', pp.19-59; 'La coroplastica campana dalla guerra latina alla guerra annibalica.', pp.65-96; 'Botteghe artigiane a Capua.', pp.97-122, in Bonghi Jovino 1990.

One possible set-up is the small, family-run workshop, by tradition and personal ties attached to the cult of the local sanctuary, producing a moderate, mixed craft. In this kind of establishment the craftsman and his family worked all the stages of production, from the creation of the prototype to the selling of the finished objects. This type of establishment is believed to have been "monofunctional", able to cope with only one type of production at one time, for example terracotta or bronze²⁸.

Another possibility is that of the more organized, specialised, almost on industrial scale establishment close to major sanctuaries. At these workshops, in some cases possibly run by the sanctuary²⁹, the various functions were clearly separated with artists and workers having different tasks and status. The intensive production demanded the regulation of chores within the chain of production.

The master artisan the "*maestro di bottega*", a figure not unlike that of the Italian Renaissance³⁰, would create the prototypes leaving to the assistants the mechanical production of the matrices and of the finished objects. He would probably supervise the final stages and may have added the embellishing and individual details to the figures³¹. This kind of establishment was capable of creating both individual quality products and mass-produced, cheaper objects. It was also "polifunctional", adapted to work indifferently terracotta, bronze and other materials³². It is within these workshops, most likely, that objects of

²⁸ However, a few exceptions are known for archaic Etruria: Torelli M. 'Polis e "palazzo". Architettura, ideologia e artigianato greco in Etruria tra VII e VI secolo a.C.' in *Architecture et société de l'archaïsme grec à la fin de la République romaine*. Paris-Roma 1983, p.475; Bonghi Jovino 'Gli scavi nell'ambito di Tarquinia e la scoperta dei "bronzi" in un preliminare inquadramento' in Bonghi Jovino-Chiaramonte Treré 1987, pp.75-79; Chiaramonte Treré 1988, I, pp.1-25; Bonghi Jovino 1990, pp.45-45, note 35.

²⁹ Bodei Giglioni 1977, pp.49ff.; Rizzello 1980, p.182.

³⁰ Bonghi Jovino 1990, pp.43-44.

³¹ These could be done in some cases by the best assistants.

³² Pairault Massa 1985, pp.3-10; Bonghi Jovino 1990, pp.46-47.

different function, of the same or different materials³³, such as antefixes and votive heads were made from the same prototype³⁴.

The existence of travelling coroplasts is also a possibility³⁵. It has often been suggested that the vagrant artisans transported their matrices around with them. More likely they carried a less bulky set of the prototypes, from which a full series of matrices can be made on the various sites to suit the different requirements of the local cults and traditions³⁶.

The travelling artist can easily find employment in the type of highly organized workshop and it is likely that such individuals were regularly adding to the stock of the local production with new prototypes. Their contribution would have been particularly valuable if, as postulated by Bonghi Jovino, the "life-span" of a prototype can not be assumed to be very long, with new models replacing old ones that had become outmoded³⁷. The large, industrialized workshops would have been always on the look-out for new "ideas", as the variety of types amongst the major votive deposits seem to confirm.

A consideration that emerges is that any workshop owned a number of prototypes and matrices, constituting the most valuable asset of the business,

³³ The likeness between terracotta heads and bronzeworks as in the case of F2a. The relationship between coroplast and bronzeworkers is documented at Capua: Schneider-Herrmann 1970, p.39.

³⁴ But also votive heads and head vases as in the case of M15a: Bonghi Jovino 1975, pp.29-35; Bonghi Jovino 1990, pp.47-48; for votive heads and antefixes from Capua: Bedello Tata in Bonghi Jovino 1990, pp.97-122; pls.VII, VIII, IX.

³⁵ However, the craftsman is not necessarily a homeless, work-seeking individual. He may be moving permanently from one urban centre to another; or he may, due to his fame, have been invited by the local authorities to work for a limited period to a new project: Bonghi Jovino 1990, p.53.

³⁶ After van Buren, Andren and Vagnetti, the figure of the travelling coroplast has been discussed more recently by S.Bruni in connection with antefixes from Populonia of probable Tarquinian production: 'Antefisse inedite da Populonia' *Rassegna di Archeologia* 5, 1985, pp.126-127; by M.R.Hofer for a relationship between votive statues from Caes and the architectural decoration of the Scasato temple at Falerii: Hofer 1985, pp.132ff; Bonghi Jovino 1990, pp.49-53.

³⁷ Bonghi Jovino 1990, p.31, note 19; also: Bonghi Jovino 1989. However, it is also probable that successful prototypes would be in used over a longer period of time, fresh and with sharply defined details to start with, but losing their original character after several reproductions and requiring "re-adjustments": Bedello Tata in Bonghi Jovino 1990, p.98.

used to exhaustion until worn out. The prototypes were also used to produce different classes of objects, votives and architectural for example and may be used to create new, different types by "crossing" matrices, obviously to the benefit of quantity but detriment of quality³⁸.

It is possible that not all matrices were manufactured in full; it may have been practical to add the finishing details after the object was out of the mould³⁹. In this case personalised details and retouches could be added together with the colouring; any defect resulting from the slipping of the mould could then be minimised and hidden, avoiding wastage and reducing costs⁴⁰.

Terracottas of such low quality and, presumably, price, were obviously intended for the less critical customers, while the more demanding and wealthy customers acquired the larger, well modelled pieces, rich in details and ornaments. Production within a single workshop may, therefore, vary considerably in quality to accommodate different demand, from commissioned architectural decoration, to cheaply mass-produced terracottas, to lavishly ornamented votive busts and statues, to objects of every-day use.

V The heads in the British Museum's collection

There is considerable variation in the type of fabric present amongst the votive heads. The clays range from coarse *impasto* to very fine creamy wares, but most include the same type of rather gritty composition, densely mixed with sand, *pozzolana*, mica and volcanic particles.

The colour of the clay also varies considerably, ranging from greyish, to buff cream, to red-orange tones.

³⁸ Pottier 1890, pp.254ff; Nicholls 1952, pp.217ff.; de Franciscis in *NSc* 1953, p.324; Koch 1912, pl.V, figs.2,4; Bedello Tata in Bonghi Jovino 1990, p.104, pl.XV; p.119.

³⁹ Koch 1912, p.14; Wuilleumier 1939, pp.393ff.; Bianchi Bandinelli R. 'Situazione storica dell'arte ellenistica.' *Atti Taranto IX*, 1970, p.21; Bianchi Bandinelli R. 'Problemi dell'arte figurativa.' *DialArch IV-V*, 1971, pp.212ff.; Rainini I. *NSc*, 1976, p.522; Bedello Tata in Bonghi Jovino 1990, p.109.

⁴⁰ For example M14c. Koch 1912, p.411; Bedello 1975, p.15.

Uneven heating or "fire flashes" during the firing process account for alterations in colour that occur in different places on the same pieces.

Some of the heads have gritty, coarse texture, rough to the touch; others have smooth appearance, with fewer inclusions visible on the surface. This difference does not seem to be connected with size but the larger heads require numerous inclusions to prevent shrinking and cracking during firing.

Occasionally, pitting occurs on the surface of the terracottas, attributable to the burning during firing of organic particles mixed in the clay composition.

The thickness of the heads varies according to the size: from a few millimetres in the smaller heads to a few centimetres for the larger ones. Inside the heads can often be observed the addition of extra clay to re-enforce the walls of the head, particularly on the junction of the front and rear mould.

At the back of the head is often placed a vent-hole, most likely to facilitate the escape of gasses during the firing. The function of these vent-holes has been attributed to hanging on the walls of the temples⁴¹. These holes are often applied to the thickest point in the wall of the figure, sometimes cut with a knife-like tool, or simply punched by the craftsman's fingers⁴². The backs are frequently crudely formed and of different thickness from the fronts, often have no details and the shape is approximate or even squashed.

During the manufacture of the object and before it was allowed to dry to a hardened state, many of the heads were further worked, enhanced or finished with clay additions and hand modelling, in particular the details of the hairstyle, jewellery and features such as pupils and nostrils⁴³.

The application of a slip over the surface of the object before firing had the purpose to make the surface smoother, hide imperfections and the larger inclusions in the clay. Traces of such milky coloured slips can be found on several examples in the British Museum's collection.

⁴¹ Steingraber 1980, p.231; Vagnetti 1971, p.160.

⁴² Nagy 1988, p.6.

⁴³ The most obvious example is the intricate coiffure on head of statue F4dI, that can only have been achieved by skilled hand modelling.

The retouch of the finished product before the firing using a tool to add details, is repeatedly present on most heads, on the hair, the eyes, the mouth or adding plastic details such as hairlocks⁴⁴, earrings⁴⁵, necklaces⁴⁶ etc. Earrings can be added by a separate mould specially made⁴⁷. The addition of a diadem or a fillet can sometime be a device to cover the line of junction between the two mould, front and rear⁴⁸.

The final touch to the object before being put on sale was the painting of the features. Unlike architectural terracottas the painting was applied after firing⁴⁹, often directly on the surface. It is probable that all votive terracottas were coloured after firing. The absence of colour on many pieces is due to the ephemeral nature of the pigment used and because they were applied after firing and were not "fixed" permanently.

Many of the heads in the British Museum's collection show traces, even if faint, of paint. The colour is applied always on the front, on the back only if it was moulded and intended to be seen, the underside is rarely coloured. The colours are brushed on much like a tempera, usually over a white slip, sometimes directly on the clay⁵⁰. The hair of the brushes have often left traces on the paint.

Certainly erroneous is the assumption that the heads were covered in white slip in order to imitate marble, as marble statues would also commonly be painted in bright colours⁵¹. The basis for the pigment was of organic nature, probably egg. Following the conventions used also in painting, female faces have fair skin, male ones are painted red. Red is the most commonly used pigment, as it

⁴⁴ F6aI.

⁴⁵ F4m.

⁴⁶ F4g.

⁴⁷ F4a; F4h; Andren 1955-56, pp.207-219.

⁴⁸ F5b and F3c.

⁴⁹ *Enea nel Lazio*, pp.266, 270.

⁵⁰ Generally refined clays mixed to liquid state, sometimes toned with oxides and other colorants such as lime: Marinucci 1976, p.14; Nagy 1988, p.11.

⁵¹ Kaschnitz-Weinberg 1925, p.332.

is also used to colour the hair and the veil, when present. Black is used for the iris of the eye and occasionally for the hair. Gold paint can, at times, be traced on jewellery⁵². Other colours used are yellow, blue and green, but only yellow is present on some British Museum's heads.

⁵² F2a.

CLASSIFICATION

It has to be stressed again that, as the British Museum's collection is not formed by an excavated deposit, or even by a collection from a single source, but it is rather an assemblage of unknown and, most likely, assorted provenance, the criteria of classification are used fairly loosely. Certain considerations of production, for example of generations of matrices, are ineffective; only in some cases suggestions can be attempted, but just for sake of discussion.

The heads, therefore, are best considered as individual objects with, more or less convincing, affinities with other similar objects within the BM's collection and with other examples elsewhere.

Within the framework of classification and stylistic identification conventionally approved for the terracottas, the fixed point of reference is always the primary model (or models) of inspiration. The model is the original idea from which the elements creating the final image for the prototype are captured. In some case it may be a creative idea, more often it is an imitation, a repetition, more or less inventive, of an already existing paradigm.

The types are created by the various matrices obtained from the prototype. They can differ in details and personalised attributes, for example jewellery.

The variants are developed from the types to create new types relating to each other and to the original prototype. They can, for example, have different hairstyle.

The group is collectively all the types, including the variants, that are, either traceable to a common prototype, or that are accomanated by a common element, like the hairstyle, but that may belong to different types.

A group can span a long period of time as it comprises the types and the variants.

KEY TO THE CATALOGUE

The numbering of the catalogue indicate:

- **F:** female
- **M:** male
- **number 1,2,3..:** the Group
- **letter a,b,c..:** the type within a Group
- **roman numeral I,II,III..:** the replicas of the same type

The measurements of the heads are taken in centimetres at the most suitable points to account for the reproduction by matrix and resulting variations in size:

- overall height
- distance between the external corners of the eyes (which gives an average width of the head)
- distance between the base of the chin (the attachment to the neck) and the forehead (the hairline)
- the nose
- the mouth
- any other useful measurement possible

All visible characteristics of the clay are recorded if relevant:

- clay composition
- surface and core colours
- slips
- applied pigments
- surface condition, etc.

GROUP 1

This group includes only two examples related by the polos displayed on their heads. Female heads with polos relate typologically to the repertoire of the coroplastic art of Magna Graecia and Sicily, where it is commonly found on figurines and busts. The polos is present on archaic terracottas in Sicily, the types of the Kore Samia or the seated goddess¹. Amongst the Western Greeks the polos was almost always the attribute of Persephone². The type is documented in Magna Graecia at Locri, Medma, Tarentum and Paestum³.

In Campania heads with polos are displayed on numerous small female busts from Capua and Cales⁴, of second half of the 5th century B.C, where the influence of Sicilian coroplastic art, particularly of Agrigento, is strongly felt⁵. The type of female heads with polos survive in Campania for a long period of time, examples have been found at Teano in the late deposits⁶. Further north the type with polos is less frequently found in votive deposits.

F1a (BM.1847.8-6.63), shows a very tall, rhomboid-shaped polos. A group of votive heads from Teano, is an immediate parallel, suggesting that locality as a very probable origin for this type⁷. The heads from Teano are considered, by the excavator, to be very close to western Greek types of the third quarter of the 5th century B.C., or just a little later. The Campanian origin of type F1a is further stressed by the likeness with a figure on a skyphos in Naples, dated to

¹ Quarles van Ufford 1941, pp.43, 44, 54.

² Bell 1981, pp.14, 81-82.

³ For Locri and Medma: Quarles van Ufford 1941, p.58; Barra Bagnasco 1986, pp.65-67, pl.XVII; for Tarentum: NS 1936, p.161, fig.62; for Paestum NS 1937, p.335, figs.86,88; Winter 1903, pl.103, II, no.2; pl.110, I, 3,6,8; pl.119, 2-6; also Marconi 1933, pl.XIV.

⁴ Bonghi Jovino 1965, p.26, pls.I-VIII; Novi 1861, pl.II, no.1.

⁵ Bonghi Jovino 1965, pl.I, AII, aI, pl.3; Rizzo 1910, p.63; Marconi 1926, pp.139-142; Deonna 1908, pp.43-47; Marconi P. 'La scultura e la plastica nella Sicilia antica.' *Historia* IV, 1930, p.660.

⁶ Johannowsky 1963, p.143, fig.10, a-b.

⁷ Johannowsky 1963, fig.10, a-b. However, Johannowsky also suggests that the matrix may have been imported.

the middle of the 4th century B.C.⁸. The scalloped fringe on head F1a is related to archaic schemes in Magna Graecia and Sicily, with many variants, like the popular undulating parallel lines⁹.

F1b (BM.1974.8-12.1) shows a low, squashed polos; the hairstyle and the polos relate this head to south Italian coroplastic works. The low squashed polos is a variant of the taller polos, frequently found in Sicily, Magna Graecia and Campania. In Campania this type of headdress has also been found associated with non-Greek costume, implying that it was rooted into local traditions¹⁰. The low polos may indicate later examples and it has been suggested that it was used to hold a veil in place¹¹. Head types with low polos seems to cease in the 3rd century B.C.¹². The hairstyle displayed by F1b, common in the 3rd century B.C., is popular on many votive terracotta heads, like F2I in Group 2.

FEMALE HEAD with polos: BM.1847.8-6.63

F1a

Purchased from the executors of J.Millingen

SIZE

H.35cm; base of chin to forehead 11.9cm; base of chin to polos 14cm; external eye corners 8.3cm; mouth 3.9cm; internal eye corner to ear lobe 7.4cm.

CLAY

Orange colour, several inclusions visible, fine to medium in size, mostly mica, black volcanic particles, some red pozzolana. Fairly smooth surface but many

⁸ In the Museo Nazionale: Kekule 1884, pl.XI, nos.2, 6.

⁹ Barra Bagnasco 1986, pp.41-64; with undulating parallel lines: Orsi P. 'Gela. Scavi del 1900-1905.' *MonAL* XVII, 1907, pl.XLIX, nos.2, 7, 9; Orlandini P. 'Gela. La stipe votiva archaica del Predio Sola.' *MonAL* XLVI, 1963, pls.II, V; Uhlenbrock 1978; Croissant 1983.

¹⁰ Bonghi Jovino 1965, p.31.

¹¹ Johannowsky 1963, p.142.

¹² Bonghi Jovino 1965, p.32.

marks are visible, possibly produced by the rubbing of the clay when made. Traces of red pigment visible on the polos.

ANATOMY and HAIRSTYLE

Female head wearing a tall polos. The polos at the front is rhomboid in shape, at the back curves under and is flattened, the sides are squared off and roughly triangular in shape. This head is very heavy, the walls are thick at the base (c.1.8-2.5cm), at the back is a large vent-hole. The features are rather simplified and linear in the archaic manner, the face is long and triangular, the sides of the polos are in line with the sides of the face, the forehead is mostly covered by the stylised, scalloped fringe with wavy horizontal incised lines and wavy edge. The arch of the eyebrows is very pronounced and wide, the eyes are elongated with thick eyelids, turning slightly downwards at the external corners. The nose (damaged) is broad and wider at the nostrils, in profile the fleshy tip turns outwards. The cheek bones are high and angular, the mouth is large and sharply defined with full lips turning down at the corners. The chin is heavy and large with a dimple in the middle. The ears are large and poke-out at the sides, obviously a separate addition to the front mould. The neck is exaggaratly long, considerably wider at the base (13cm diam.)¹³.

PARALLELS

The type of this head is present in the deposit at Teano, località Loreto, in Campania¹⁴. Another head of this type, but smaller in size, is in the Museo Campano in Naples¹⁵. A figure on a skyphos, dated to the middle of the 4th century B.C., in the Museo Archeologico Nazionale in Naples shows stringent similarities with the type of this head¹⁶. One head of this type, almost identical and of comparable size, probably from a closely related matrix, is in the Hermitage Museum in Leningrade¹⁷.

¹³ This type of neck is paralleled by some of the small heads in the collection, like F2bI.

¹⁴ Johannowsky 1963, fig.10, a-b.

¹⁵ Inv.no.2241.

¹⁶ Kekule 1884, pl.XI, nos.2,6.

¹⁷ *Hermitage Museum Catalogue* 1972, no.180.

FEMALE HEAD with polos: BM.1974.8-12.1

F1B

Found unregistered

SIZE

H.29cm; base of chin to forehead 16.5cm; external eye corners 9cm; mouth 3.3cm; internal eye corner to ear lobe 85mm.

CLAY

Orange colour, dark surface possibly due to decayed pigment, many inclusions visible mostly quartz crystals, black volcanic particles, mica.

ANATOMY

Female head, fairly rigid with fixed expression. The face is round and full, with a high and wide forehead partly covered at the sides by the mass of hair, the pronounced large chin, is pointed in profile and presents a dimple in the middle, the cheeks are full and heavy. The eyebrows are low, arched and heavy, the brow-nose line is pronounced, the eyes are small and elongated with eyelids fairly pronounced, the upper lid overlaps the lower at the outside corners with incision to mark the fold. The short straight nose is not very prominent but shows fleshy nostrils and tip (damaged and restored). The small mouth has full, well defined lips, particularly the lower lip, which slightly curls up at the corners. The ears are small, crudely rendered and protruding. The long wide neck flares out at the base. This head is fairly heavy in weight, the polos is part of the rear mould.

HAIRSTYLE

The hair is parted in the middle and swept back over the ears in small tight, curly waves, a curious small ringlet, which looks more like a blob of clay, falls in front of the ears. The hair is rendered only at the front, indicated in detail by shallow and deep incisions in the clay with a sharp tool. On the top of the head is a low polos 2.2cm high at the centre above the forehead, slightly higher at the sides, almost flat at the top with a small vent-hole in the middle. At the back of the head the polos tails down to the neck.

GROUP 2

This is one of the more distinctive groups of female heads for quality and preservation of the individual pieces (much pigment survives on F2a, including some gold colour on the jewellery, a very rare occurrence). This group of heads is found exclusively in southern Etruria. The types within this group, are transformed, in time, into specific types in their own right, but still maintaining a common link. The first, original prototype of the first type, is common, not only to the heads from Caere, the probable origin of this group, but also to similar ones from Veii and Falerii. It seems that a parallel tradition linked these places, having in turn strong affinities with the art of Chiusi.

It must be noted that at Caere, Falerii and Veii, coroplastic production developed on parallel lines but with a certain amount of individuality, creating at each place a distinctive look. It is often possible to guess at glance the origin of individual pieces in spite of their likeness.

Three of the types in this Group are present in the comparable collection from the Caeretan deposit at "Vignaccia", in the Lowie Museum at Berkeley University, California¹. The heads are all related to each other, and the Lowie Museum connection is an important one, not only because advocates the Caeretan origin of the types, but because illustrates their development. One of the heads in the Lowie Museum is comparable to two heads, also from Caere, in Siena².

The type of F2a (BM.1814.7-4.856) is represented at the Lowie Museum by series IA3³, which shows "indigenous" Etrusco-Italic characters⁴. The indigenous traits on these heads are characterized by an emphasis on linear qualities, especially the strong rounded chin, the triangular forehead, the use of

¹ Nagy 1988.

² Pellegrini G. *Studi e materiali di Archeologia e Numismatica* I, 1899-1901, p.147, Chigi Collection inv.no.37818; Steingraber 1981, pl.79.

³ Nagy 1988, figs.3-7.

⁴ Nagy 1988, p.14.

ridges to outline the eyes, eyebrows, lips and hair strands, creating almost separate, geometrical areas⁵. These characteristics are not confined to Caeretan plastic art they are also prominent in northern and central Etruria and in Latium on sculpture in stone and metal before the 5th century B.C.⁶. It is an Italic version of the Greek Severe style, that Quentin Maule called "near-classical" style⁷. This archaic-Severe trend is combined with a symmetrical treatment of the hair of typically Classical inspiration. For this reason the heads appear at first sight older than they really are, the correct dating often suggested by external elements such as jewellery, like on heads F2a and F2h. The old-fashioned quality conferred to figures of Classical period is a peculiarity to Etruscan art, encountered particularly at Chiusi and Veii⁸.

The type of head F2a is the forerunner of the type with *Schläfenlocke*, or temple locks, considered to be truly Etruscan⁹. The features of F2a relate this head to a type from Veii Campetti in the rendering of the eyes, nose and mouth, in the shape of the veil and the formal arrangement of the hair¹⁰. For the Veientine head links with Sicilian sculpture of the middle 5th century B.C., such as the metopes of the Heraion in Selinus, have been recognised¹¹.

From the same prototype is derived another head, again found in Veii at the sanctuary of Portonaccio¹². The head from Portonaccio is dated to the second half of the 5th century B.C., claiming for it the influence of the school of

⁵ Maule-Smith 1959, pp.40-41, note 25. This was a typical trait of earlier Etruscan art found, for instance, on the Apollo from Veii: Giglioli 1935, pls.CXC-CXCII; or the bronze Capitoline wolf: Giglioli 1935, pl.CXCVII.

⁶ From Chiusi: Brendel 1978, p.96, fig.65; p.126, fig.79; p.107, fig.73.

⁷ Mansuelli 1968, pp.73-84; Maule 1977, pp.487-505.

⁸ Mansuelli 1968, p.84.

⁹ Group 4: Hafner 1965, p.51.

¹⁰ Vagnetti 1971, pl.XII, AXIX; Pallottino M. 'Scavo in un area sacra a Veio' *Le Arti* I, 1938-39, pp.402-403, pl.127; Hafner 1965, p.46, pl.14, no.4; Riis 1981, p.45, Veii type 18K.

¹¹ Fuchs 1956, p.102ff, pl.95.

¹² Santangelo 1952, p.158, figs.22-24; Sprenger 1972, pp.33-34, pl.8; Cristofani 1975, p.70; Steingraber 1980, p.497, fig.307.

Polyclitus¹³. The same influence is also recognised for head F2a by P.J.Riis, according to whom the hairstyle makes it look like a youth, in particular the Diadumenos¹⁴.

A group of male terracotta votive heads from Falerii, dated to the late 5th early 4th centuries B.C., share similar facial type and the same hairstyle with the heads from Veii and with F2a¹⁵. For the heads from Falerii Greek Classical models, acquired via Magna Graecia, have been recognised¹⁶, but merged with surviving more archaic models, a characteristic typical not only of Faliscan and Veientine art production but Etruscan in general¹⁷.

Amongst the heads of the votive deposit at Carsoli a type akin to F2a is present, although cruder in rendering¹⁸.

An antefix with female head presents strong physiognomic likeness with F2a, particularly similar is the shape of the face and the rendering of nose and mouth¹⁹. The antefix shows stylistic affinities with another 5th century B.C. antefix from Chiusi²⁰, but on the Basel example the likeness with the votive

¹³ Banti 1960, p.332, pl.76.

¹⁴ Riis 1941, p.18, no.2.

¹⁵ Comella 1986, group A1 VI, pp.20-22, p.209. The connection Veii-Falerii has often been stressed: Comella 1986, pp.205-220. Comella points out that the strong influence of the art of Polyclitus suggests a dating not lower than the end of the 4th century B.C., even allowing for a long life of the type, rejecting the dating proposed by Riis, 350-275 B.C., as too low: Riis 1941, p.55.

¹⁶ It is well known that south Italian craftsmen were working in Rome already in the first half of the 5th century B.C.: Pliny *N.H.*, XXXV, 154. 5th century B.C. Greek sculpture of Sicilian and south Italian production were present in Rome with Attic works: Paribeni 1969, pp.83-89. It is possible that Rome played a considerable role in the propagation of the Attic models in central Italy.

¹⁷ Comella 1986, pp.212-213. This is typical also at Veii, particularly evident in a group of figurines showing a drapery of late archaic fashion combined with a classical head. At Chiusi is a common trait on funerary sculpture: Levi D.in *BA* XXVIII, 1934, p.65ff. figs.25-28, also note 8.

¹⁸ Chieti, Museo Archeologico, unpublished.

¹⁹ Was auctioned in Basel in 1976: H.23cm; no.97 in *Palladion Antike Kunst*. Catalogue 1976. Basel 1976.

²⁰ Andren 1940, pl.86 no.306.

head is even more manifest. The provenance and dating of the piece is not reported in the auction catalogue, but it is possible to suggest an origin in the Chiusi region in the late 5th, early 4th centuries B.C.

The most significant connection that can be drawn for the type of the F2a is with the plastic art of Chiusi. A definite similarity between heads of Classical inspiration from the votive deposits at Campetti²¹ and Falerii²² and the statuary of Chiusi of the close of the 5th century, has been often remarked. For head F2a particularly relevant is the parallel with a sarcophagus lid in *pietra fetida* from Chianciano, dated to the early 4th century B.C., showing a reclining male figure, the deceased, and a winged female figure identified as a Vanth²³. Curiously the likeness is more evident on the male figure²⁴, where the head shows the same heavy hairstyle, held by a crown, with the short, full fringe over the forehead and large side curls. The effect is quite unrealistic, almost wig-like. Cristofani compares the hairstyle on the Chianciano group with that on a bronze head from Bolsena pointing out the evident dependence of the first from bronze-working technique²⁵. The features on the male head are also strikingly similar to those on F2a: particularly the long soft oval face, the full mouth with slightly pouting lips, the long fleshy nose, the shape and rendering of the eyes, the strong chin, the low arched forehead.

²¹ Vagnetti 1971, p.171.

²² Cristofani 1975, pp.81-87; Comella 1986, p.218. At Chiusi, in the first half of the 4th century B.C., there is a production of red-figure vases of Faliscan type, a fact which underlines the frequent cultural exchanges between the major centres of the inner Etrusco-Italic area, resulting in a sort of unity of style for the figurative arts: Beazley 1947, pp.113-122; Harari 1980; Comella 1986, p.218; Cristofani 1975, p.85.

²³ Inv.no.94352, in the Museo Archeologico, Firenze: Bianchi Bandinelli 1925, pp.401, 494, no.23; Riis 1941, p.116; Zanco O.'Il fenomeno della scultura funeraria chiusina così detta 'Severa'.' *Arte Antica e Moderna XXVIII*, 1964, p.379ff.; Herbig-Simon 1965, p.42ff.; Sprenger 1972, p.72ff.; Cristofani 1975, pp.65-66, pl.XXXI, nos.1-3; Dohrn 1982, p.49; *Civiltà degli Etruschi*, p.303, no.11.22.

²⁴ The hair arrangement and facial type occur frequently on male figures, for example on the bronze ash urn lid from Perugia, considered the product of a Chiusi workshop, in the Hermitage: *Antichità dell'Umbria a Leningrado* pp.391-396; Nagy 1988, p.15; Cristofani 1984, p.199.

²⁵ Cristofani 1975, p.66. For the Bolsena bronze: Haynes 1965, pp.523-525, pl.CXXIV.

The resemblance between the sarcophagus head and the votive terracotta head is even closer than between F2a and the heads from Veii Campetti, where the features are sharper (Fig.3)

Comparable is another bronze work of Clusine production, a cinerary urn from Perugia in the Hermitage dated to c.400 B.C.²⁶ The hairstyle and the features on this small bronze are close to those on the Chianciano group and to the head F2a. The dependence from bronze-works for this type of terracotta votive head, is further stressed by a significant parallel with a small bronze male head from a votive statuette, in the Carpegna Collection at the Museo Profano of the Bibliotheca Vaticana²⁷. The resemblance between this small bronze head and the type of F2a, particularly with one example in the Lowie Museum, is striking²⁸. The two heads are virtually identical, even the hair strands are perfectly duplicated, as to suggest that they were produced in the same workshop. In spite of the difference in size, in order to maintain the correspondence in looks and details, the two heads must be contemporary and still close to the original prototype from which are both derived (Fig.4).

The bronze represents a male head, again stressing the androgynous character of the prototype. The face and hair details show a fusion of Classical influence and indigenous characteristics. The hair on top of the head, radiating from the centre in a star-shape, is a derivation of the *Haarspinne* of Polyclitus, also the combination of the curls over the ears and the straight strands on the forehead

²⁶ Inv.no.1843, Hermitage Museum, Campana Collection: Cristofani 1985, p.293, no.117; *Antichità dell'Umbria a Leningrado*, pp.391-396; *Les Etrusques et l'Europe*, cat.no.522, pp.232-233, 360.

²⁷ H.9.21cm, inv.no.6229: Roncalli 1982, pp.89-96, pl.1-5; Haynes 1985, p.210, no.148. This bronze head is part of the collection assembled by Cardinal Cesare Carpegna (1625/1714) documented in two museum inventories: *Cod.Vat.Lat. 9154*, *Cod.Vat.Lat.9153*.

²⁸ Nagy 1988, head IA 3b, fig.5, pl.III. The resemblance between this bronze and the votive terracottas has been remarked already for the series of heads from Falerii: Comella 1986, pp.22,213,218. It has been suggested that they were both manufactured in Falerii: Roncalli 1982, pp.93-94. However, the likeness with the head in the Lowie Museum, and in consequence with the series from Caere, is far convincing, making the Faliscan link more remote. The provenance of the bronze head is unknown, but Roncalli suggests an origin within the lands of the Carpegna family, Montefeltro, in the area of central-northern Etruria where small votive bronzes are most commonly found, supporting the possible dependence of the prototype from the art of Chiusi: Roncalli 1982, p.92.

are of Polycletian inspiration²⁹. Etruscan is the straightness of the face, the large staring eyes, the mouth marked by deep side lines, adding to the intense and sulky expression so typical of this type of figures³⁰. This small Vatican bronze head is related to a large group of small Etruscan bronzes, chronologically placed within the first half of the 4th century B.C.³¹

In the Metropolitan Museum is a terracotta votive head from Caere almost identical to F2a, only smaller in size, presumably derived from a closely related matrix³². This head displays the same features, the same rosette crown, identical necklace, placed also high on the neck like a choker, the same veil rounded at the back with the hat-like brim. Only the hairstyle is modified in two rows of tight circular-curls, a later style, which suggest an extended use of the same matrix³³.

The most immediate parallel for head F2a is to be found in the group of Caeretan votive heads in the Lowie Museum, presumably manufactured in the same workshop³⁴. They display the same hairstyle, veil and facial type. All but one wear the same horseshoe earrings, but the crowns differ except in one case³⁵. Two of the heads are particularly close to F2a, which seems to be of a size in between, possibly from a modified matrix of the same generation³⁶. On

²⁹ Stenben 1973, p.23, pl.6.

³⁰ Roncalli 1982, p.93.

³¹ Roncalli 1982, pp.94-95. For example, the statuette of a youth in praying attitude in the Metropolitan Museum: Sprenger 1972, pls.XVI-XVII; a statuette from Falerii in the British Museum: Walters 1899, p.113, no.681, pl.16; and a male head from Falterona in the British Museum: Walters 1899, p.91, no.614; Steingraber 1980, p.223, pl.69, I.

³² Acc.no.96.18.174: Van Bothmer-Noble 1961, pl.XXI, A.

³³ The photograph on the publication only shows the right profile of the head on which the earring is missing, although a scar is visible; no information is offered on the existence of an earring on the left side.

³⁴ From the "Vignaccia" deposit: Nagy 1988, series IA3: pl.II, figs.3-4; pl.III, fig.5,6; pl.IV, fig.7. There is no information, but it is possible that the head in the Metropolitan Museum was originally part of the same group.

³⁵ Nagy 1988, pl.IV, fig.7, IA3h.

³⁶ Nagy 1988, pl.III, fig.5 IA3b; pl.III, fig.6, IA3c. This could be due to different procedure in measuring the objects and slight inaccuracy.

this group of heads the hairstyle varies from compact circular curls over the forehead and on the sides³⁷, to a short, straight fringe over the forehead with tight, linear curls at the sides³⁸ as on F2a. Sometimes the fringe is slightly parted in the middle with stiffer circular curls at the sides³⁹. The group is dated to the late 5th, early 4th century B.C. on stylistic grounds; however, the jewellery represented on the heads, particularly the earrings *a grappolo*, are dated to the later part of the 4th century B.C.⁴⁰ The earrings displayed on F2a have been identified by Andren as the more developed form of the type⁴¹. The earrings, the rosette diadem and the side locks, compare this head to Caeretan architectural antefixes of the late 4th, early 3rd centuries B.C.⁴²

If the style of head F2a is related to Clusine art works of the Classical period, as the resemblance with the Chianciano sarcophagus seems to indicate, the type cannot be earlier than the 4th century B.C. The sarcophagus itself, dated to the early 4th century B.C., must have been inspired by works of art already in circulation. It requires sometime for the artistic trends to establish themselves in the workshops producing terracottas such as the sarcophagus. For the motives of Chiusi to extend to other areas of southern Etruria, where the votive heads were produced, more time must elapse. This would have happened either by Clusine artisan moving to the area, or via the acquisition of some prototypes to work on by local craftsmen⁴³.

³⁷ As on the Metropolitan Museum's head. This is also the hairstyle of the female Vanth figure on the lid from Chianciano.

³⁸ Nagy 1988, pl.III, fig.6, IA3c.

³⁹ Nagy 1988, figs.3-4, IA3.

⁴⁰ Nagy 1988, p.15; Hafner 1965, pp.47-49.

⁴¹ Andren 1955-1956, pp.210-211, fig.7; Chapter 7, paragraph VII.

⁴² Andren 1940, pl.20.66, Caere IV:6, pl.20.67, Caere IV:7; Riis 1981, type 18B, p.27, type 20A p.28; antefix from Caere in the Berlin Antiquarium, no.6681, of which 10 examples are known.

⁴³ It has been argued on many occasions that, as Etruscan art mainly received its inspiration from Greece, a certain lapse of time separates the works from their prototypes. This is supposed to have increased in the Classical period in consequence of the repeated naval defeats of the Etruscans, especially after Cumae in 474 BC: Riis 1941, p.147.

Popular art forms tend to be somewhat conservative in their character, more so when invested of religious significance, as in the case of the votive offerings, unlike mainstream art, always receptive to new influences. It is plausible, therefore, that some approved type of heads may have remained in circulation for a longer period of time than their style would at first suggest, and that more contemporary items, such as jewellery, were added to them. The fact that more "developed" forms of the type are present at the same time seems to confirm this impression⁴⁴.

A fragmentary head in the Museo Civico in Viterbo shows the same rosette diadem rendered in a very similar fashion⁴⁵. A skyphos, of the second half 4th century B.C., in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts, depicts a female figure displaying the same attributes as present on F2a: side curls, short fringe coiffure, high rosettes diadem, cluster earrings and bullae necklace worn high on the neck⁴⁶.

The type represented by head F2h (BM.1928.1-17.9), is a development of the previous one. The head shows softer, less linear features, the eyes are smaller and slightly slanting at the outer corners, the hair treatment differs in its central parting and snaky strands. The foremost impression is of a decline of the "indigenous" element in favour of a more Hellenic quality; this type, like the following, strongly resemble Tarentine female types. However, the link with the art of Chiusi of the 5th-4th centuries B.C., is still felt on this head⁴⁷.

The type of F2h is represented also on Caeretan antefixes, according to Riis fashioned after Greek models of the second half of the 5th century B.C.⁴⁸

⁴⁴ As the head in the Metropolitan Museum or head F2h.

⁴⁵ Emiliozzi 1974, pl.XL, no.14.

⁴⁶ Bianchi Bandinelli-Giuliano 1985, p.272, fig.311.

⁴⁷ Schneider-Hermann 1949-51, p.15. Schneider-Hermann suggests that, given the similarity between some Tarentine terracotta heads and heads from Caere, the mould could have been imported directly from Tarentum to Caere.

⁴⁸ Riis 1941, p.18, no.1. According to Riis the type of F2h is virtually identical to antefix type A14, p.11, no.14: *StE* 1931, p.138, pl.13.5. However strong the likeness, they are not identical; he parallels the type with Attic plastic vases of the Basle and Spetia groups which also have side curls: Beazley 1929, pp.38-78, figs.23-26.

Particularly relevant comparisons for head F2h are a marble head in Tarentum, which shows the same hairstyle⁴⁹, and a terracotta head, also from Tarentum now in a private collection in New York, showing very similar rendering of the features but slightly different hairstyle⁵⁰. Both heads are dated to the 4th century B.C. (Fig.5)

Two further early 4th century B.C. Tarentine heads, one an original marble creation the other a terracotta development of the type, can be compared with this votive head⁵¹. Another early 4th century B.C. Tarentine terracotta head, from a statue, is very similar in features and hairstyle to F2h⁵² (Fig.6).

There is evidence of middle 5th century B.C. Attic influence for the type of this head, suggested by the remarkable resemblance with a small terracotta head from Athens recorded in the Berlin Antiquarium in 1903 and catalogued by Winter⁵³. This small head could be the same recorded in 1933 as being in a Bremen private collection; judging by the photos they appear to correspond, the size is also identical⁵⁴. It is curious that, if the Attic models reached central Italian areas via Tarentum, the physiognomic likeness between the original Attic prototypes and the votive head is even closer than with the Tarentine works.

⁴⁹ Langlotz 1963, fig.132.

⁵⁰ Buitron Oliver 1987, pp.156-157, no.73 a,b,c.

⁵¹ Schneider-Hermann 1949-51, pp.14-15. In the article two terracotta heads, one from Tarentum and one from Cerveteri (part of a group in Berkley University) are compared. The Tarentine head has the same facial type of F2h with the hairstyle of F2II. In fact, it looks something in between the two types. The author suggests that the heads from Caere, with their clear Tarentine touch, can be considered a missing link between Tarentine and local Etrurian works.

⁵² Auctioned in Basel: H.21.5cm: no.25, in 'Kunstwerke der Antike.' Catalogue 5. Basel 1993. The elements are the same: the shape of the face, triangular forehead with rippling hair drawn to the sides, the same shape of the eyes and chin, the nose is slightly more pointed and the mouth slightly smaller.

⁵³ Winter 1903, I, S.62,6; *Ausgewählte Griechische Terrakotten* 1903, pl.VI, left.

⁵⁴ Schaal 1933, pl.40: a,b.

An unpublished terracotta head from Cerveteri in Boston belongs to the same type⁵⁵. The features are very similar, the hairstyle, parted in the middle, displays rippling waves with temple locks, and on top of the head is a rosette crown similar to that of F2a. On the Boston head the softer rendering of the features and hair, seems to suggest affinities with some Etruscan sculpture of late 5th century B.C., like the female head from the temple at the Via San Leonardo in Orvieto, inspired by the Phidian school⁵⁶.

In the Lowie Museum collection an identical parallel for the type of F2h is missing. However, two closely related types represent the connection with the previous type of F2a⁵⁷ and with the following type of F2l⁵⁸. The first type shows facial characteristics common to both heads, but the hairstyle is that of F2h without the side locks. The earrings are of the horseshoe type, but more like those on F2a and placed as on that head. Also the neck, the base and the shape of the veil at the side, recall F2a. The second type in the Lowie Museum collection is even more similar to F2h in features, but the hairstyle is different, softer, fuller and without side locks, in the Classical tradition of the Tarentine heads to which F2h has been compared, as adopted by the type of F2l. On this head the indigenous style of earrings disappear, completing the Hellenic transformation of the type.

The type illustrated by F2II and F2III (BM.1974.8-12.24/25) shows a further softening of the features and adherence to hellenic models. Although the connection between these types is not obvious on the BM's examples, it is clearly recognisable amongst the heads in the Lowie Museum, which are indeed invaluable for the understanding of this complex assemblage⁵⁹. The Lowie Museum collection also illustrates the relationship between the types of heads F2a, F2l, and another type, not present in the BM's collection, which can be

⁵⁵ *Classical Journal* LXI, 1966, p.296, fig.16, 301, note 42; Riis 1981, Caere type 17B, p.27.

⁵⁶ Andren 1940, pp.162-3, I:8, pl.62, pp.164-5.

⁵⁷ Nagy 1988, IA3h, fig.7.

⁵⁸ Nagy 1988, IA4b, fig.9.

⁵⁹ The link between the types is shown by head IA4b: Nagy 1988, pl.V, fig.10, which corresponds to F2h, and head IA18: Nagy 1988, pl.XVII, fig.33, corresponding to F2II.

described as an hybrid of the two: almost a bust, with features and hairstyle resembling F2I and jewellery as displayed on F2a⁶⁰.

The local "touch" in the form of the typically Etruscan jewellery, is absent. Head F2II displays a pair of inverted pyramid pendent earrings of Greek style, common in Etruria in the 3rd century B.C. The type of this head is transformed into a Classical female face with less elongated features, smaller chin, small, serious mouth slightly parted, larger, slightly droopy eyes, less geometric eyebrows. The nose-to-forehead line is straighter in typical Classical fashion⁶¹.

The most conspicuous difference with the previous types is in the hair treatment, becoming more elaborate with fluffy, wavy strands around the head. This hairstyle is paralleled in terracotta statuary from Southern Italy and Sicily of late 4th-early 3rd centuries B.C.⁶² The extension of the composition into a shoulder bust manifests affinity with similar contemporary objects from Magna Graecia, particularly Sicily⁶³. F2II and F2III seem to be infused by the same gentle softness found on Sicilian votive terracotta shoulder busts, which they also resemble in features, common in the late 4th early 3rd centuries B.C., influenced by the style of Lysippus⁶⁴. A series of *balsamarium* with female heads from Agrigentum, shows striking resemblance in the modelling of the face and the hairstyle with this type of votive heads⁶⁵.

⁶⁰ Nagy 1988, group IA17, pls.XV-XVI, nos.29-32. This type is present also in other Museum collections: Siena, Chigi Collection inv.nos.37829, 37957; see note 1.

⁶¹ The emphasis placed in sculpture on the continuous brow-nose line, from outer brow to nose tip, is rare in mainland Greece and Ionia after about 470-460 B.C., but in Western Greece and other Italic areas remains a normal feature through the whole Classical period: Kilmer 1977, p.83.

⁶² Kilmer 1977, figs.58-97.

⁶³ Kilmer 1977, figs.66-84.

⁶⁴ The Sicilian terracotta shoulder busts of this type have been identified and dated by Kilmer as belonging to a distinctive artistic period, the Transitional Hellenistic, from about 330 to c.275 B.C., after the revival of Syracuse under Timoleon and the refunding of Agrigentum and other cities following the Carthaginian attacks. According to Kilmer, in Western Greece the influence of Lysippus is stronger than in mainland Greece and it outweighs that of Skopas and other sculptors: Kilmer 1977, pp.128-129, figs.58-97.

⁶⁵ Griffo-Zirretta 1964, p.71; Griffo 1987, fig.134, pp.145-148. The *balsamarium* with female head is generally associated with cults requiring ritual bathing, a ktonic cult possibly

Definite similarities can be noticed between these two heads and a small 4th century B.C. terracotta head from Tarentum in the Staatliche Kunstsammlungen in Kassel, with diadem and circular earrings⁶⁶ (Fig.7), and with another 4th century B.C. Tarentine terracotta head in Basel, with polos and high veil⁶⁷ (Fig.8).

One antefix in the Museo Nazionale Romano, from the Tiber, shows similarities in the features and hairstyle with this type of votive heads⁶⁸.

In the Lowie Museum collection this series is represented by one head, virtually identical to F2II; the corresponding size could suggest the same generation matrix⁶⁹.

In the MGE is an example of the type, from Caere, identical to F2III and possibly also from the same generation matrix⁷⁰.

From the temple of Mater Matute in Satricum⁷¹ and from Lavinium⁷² came three further examples of the series but with modified hairstyle.

Of unknown provenance are two heads, one in Copenhagen, described by Riis as Caeretan type 21B⁷³, and one in the Hermitage⁷⁴.

associated with Demeter, Kore, Artemis and Tyche. All these cults were favoured during the reign of Timoleon in the second half of the 4th century B.C.

⁶⁶ Only H.9.5cm: Sinn 1977, pl.17, no.47, p.34.

⁶⁷ H.17cm: Herdejürgen 1978, no.A20; Herdejürgen 1982, no.102, pp.42-43.

⁶⁸ Inv.no.4479, H.17cm; Pensabene-Sanzi Di Mino 1983, pl.XVI, 50.

⁶⁹ Nagy 1988, pl.XVII fig.33, IA18, pp.17, 82. The Lowie Museum head is described as a 'unique piece' and 'unusual', but this is incorrect, as examples of this type are not uncommon. The Lowie Museum head is also paralleled to 4th century B.C. Tarentine examples already mentioned in connection with head F2h.

⁷⁰ Inv.no.13790: Hafner 1965, pl.15, no.2.

⁷¹ In the Villa Giulia Museum on display, inv.nos.12276, 11500.

⁷² La Regina in *Lavinium*, inv.no.1975, fig.287.

⁷³ In the NCG: Riis 1981, fig.17, possibly from Politorium.

⁷⁴ *Hermitage Museum Catalogue* 1972, no.177.

Head F2i (BM.1839.2-14.29), shows yet another transformation of the original prototype. The roundness of the face, the parting of the lips, the subtle definition of features and particularly the tilting forward of the head, infuse this type with an Hellenistic character⁷⁵. The hairstyle is still that of F2h, with middle parting and side locks. On this head, however, the hair is rather limp and poorly rendered, the ostentatious snaky curls of the earlier examples are replaced by stringy strands, that leave free a pair of large and ungainly ears. A veiled example of this type, displaying late 4th-3rd century B.C. horseshoe earring, is in the Villa Giulia Museum⁷⁶.

FEMALE VEILED HEAD: BM.1814.7-4.856 ⁷⁷

F2a

SIZE

H.23cm; base of chin to forehead 11.5cm; external eye corners 6.5cm; mouth 3cm; nose 4cm.

CLAY

Pale creamy colour, many ill sorted inclusions, fine to coarse in size, mostly black volcanic crystals, some large quartz crystals, red-brown pozzolana, mica, some flint-like inclusions. Fairly smooth surface to the touch. This head is quite heavy, internally the hole is small and the walls are thick.

ANATOMY

⁷⁵ The tilt of the head is a feature that discloses later examples. In votive terracottas occurs later than in statuary for practical reasons as it is easier to make a well balanced mould of a head than one leaning at a different angle: Nagy 1988, p.19.

⁷⁶ Inv.25247, from Ardea (Pescarella): Hafner 1965, pl.16.2; Steingraber 1980, pl.78:3; Melis-Quilici Gigli 1982-83, pl.II.2.

⁷⁷ Turfa 1986, no.7

Fine female head, veiled, wearing elaborate crown, earrings and necklace jewellery. The face is long and rectangular-shaped, with fairly flat cheeks and low but wide forehead. The brow-nose line is not very prominent, the small elongated eyes are slightly bulbous with sharply defined eyelids and sharp outer corners. The nose is long, straight with fairly fleshy tip and nostrils. The shapely mouth is placed close to the nose, the lips are full and slightly pouting, the round, strong chin has a small dimple in the middle. The neck and the base of the veil turn out to form a pedestal for the head to stand on. The back of the head is rounded and the top of the veil resembles in profile the brim of a hat. The veil/nimbs at the front is more a frame, like that of an antefix, than a veil.

The earrings of horseshoe-*a grappolo* type (both well preserved) are made from separate mould, the attachment being clearly visible. The necklace is worn high on the neck, and is formed by a twisted wire chain from which are suspended a central heart-shaped pendant, elaborate and rich of decorative details, two lateral triangular-shaped pendants on small lugs, also elaborately decorated and at the far sides two long and narrow pendants simply made of a piece of twisted wire.

The crown consists of a row of circular rosettes with central button. Traces of red pigment are visible on the crown and on the base of the neck, also rare traces of gold paint are found on the rosettes, on both earrings and on the central pendant of the necklace

HAIRSTYLE

The hair arrangement consist of a short, slightly parted, linear fringe over the forehead and large side curls in front of the ears, which are totally hidden by the earrings. The hair is carefully rendered with details added by deep and shallow incisions, but the effect is quite artificial.

PARALLELS

A replica to this head is in the Metropolitan Museum in New York, smaller in size but from a closely related matrix⁷⁸. A group of votive heads, from Caere in the Lowie Museum, California, are of the same type and closely related

⁷⁸ Acc.no.96.18.174, Van Bothmer-Noble 1961, pl.XXI, A.

matrices⁷⁹. A head from the ex-collection of the Earl of Harrowby is of the same type⁸⁰, and similar jewellery is found on a fragmentary head in the Museo Civico in Viterbo⁸¹, and on a votive head from Caere in the Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto⁸².

FEMALE VEILED HEAD small: BM.1839.2-14.49

F2bI

Campanari Collection

SIZE

H.15.9cm; max.width 8.2cm; base of chin to forehead 7.2cm; external eye corners 3.8cm; mouth 1.3cm; tip of nose to earlobe 5cm; internal eye corner to lobe 4.5cm.

CLAY

Deep yellow-orange colour, surface slightly rough to the touch, many inclusions visible, fine to coarse in size, mostly black volcanic (some large lumps), red pozzolana, mica, white shelly particles. Traces of red pigment survive on the hair and veil, now decayed and much darker in colour.

ANATOMY

Small female head veiled, with broad oval face and flat cheeks, the head is wide at the top and narrow at the round, prominent chin. The forehead is high and spacious, the eyebrows are only slightly suggested, the large oblong eyes have eyelids defined as prominent clay "rings" as on other heads of this type. The

⁷⁹ Nagy 1988, series IA3: pl.II, fig.3-4; pl.III, fig.5,6; pl.IV, fig.7.

⁸⁰ H.24.8cm. Sold at auction: no.241, *Art of the Ancient World, 50th Anniversary edition, Royal Athena Galleries*. New York. January 1991, No.68, vol.VIII part I. The head is from the collection of the Earl of Harrowby (1762-1847), bears the wax seal of the King of Naples, applied prior to 1840's, and is said to have been found "in a tomb" at Albano, more likely a votive dump.

⁸¹ Emiliozzi 1974, pl.XL, no.14.

⁸² Inv.no.918.6.3, Sturge Collection.

nose (partly damaged) is long and fleshy at the nostrils, the mouth is small with full, pouting lips. The neck is exageratly long and wider at the base, the veil forms a frame round the face and neck.

HAIRSTYLE

The hair, slightly parted with a triangular fringe on the forehead, pulled back towards the temples, rendered by small sections, the edges defined by incisions.

PARALLELS

To the type of this head and from related matrix belong: F2bII, just slightly smaller in size, F2bIII, again progressively smaller, and F2bIV, F2bV, F2bVI. A group of seven closely comparable heads was excavated from a votive deposit in Palestrina in an area identified as dedicated to the cult of Hercules⁸³. In the deposit was found a bronze coin of late 4th century B.C.⁸⁴. Another close parallel is in the Danish National Museum⁸⁵; of the same type is one head in the Museo Biscari in Catania⁸⁶ and two in the Louvre⁸⁷. Similar heads have been retrieved at Lavinium with slightly modified hairstyle, dated to the 3rd century B.C.⁸⁸

An important consideration must be made comparing this small head with the small bronze votive head of youth from the Carpegna Collection in the Vatican Library, dated within the first half of the 4th century B.C., already mentioned in

⁸³ Zaccagni 1980, pp.188-191, pl.XXXIX, fig.1:a-g, fig.2. The heads measure on average: H.13cm, W.7.1cm; H.12.9cm, W.6.5cm; H.11.7cm, W.5.6cm. The clay colour is similar to F2bI with much mica. In the area, also known for clandestine removal of archaeological material, numerous votive objects have been retrieved since the 19th century. The deposit was rich in votives of various types, and the heads were sitting at the bottom of the pit.

⁸⁴ Zaccagni 1980, p.188.

⁸⁵ H.10.6cm, pale-brown micaceous clay with black and red particles: Breitenstain 1941, p.84, pl.99 no.793; provenance unknown, acquired from Christian VIII's collection, formerly in the Capecelatro collection, Tarentum.

⁸⁶ Libertini 1930, p.215, pl.CIII, no.909.

⁸⁷ Inv.nos.CP 4062, CP 4097.

⁸⁸ Dated between 280-220 B.C.: La Regina in *Lavinium* 1975 pp.211-213, figs.285-286.

connection with the Caeretan series of heads as represented by F2a⁸⁹. Although the small terracotta votive head is much cruder the resemblance is undeniable, both in countenance, features and, most importantly, hairstyle which is exactly reproduced. Again, examining this small terracotta and head F2a together, one can not fail to perceive the affinity between them (although they are at the two ends of the quality scale amongst terracotta votive heads) and discern a common prototype⁹⁰.

FEMALE VEILED HEAD small: BM.1843.5-7.330 F2bII

Belmore Collection

SIZE

H.13.3cm; base of chin to forehead 6.2cm; external eye corners 3.5cm; mouth 1.2cm.

CLAY

Orange colour, surface rough to the touch, numerous inclusions visible, mostly black volcanic, red pozzolana, some quartz crystals, some fine white shelly particles. Dark surface appearance due possibly to decayed red pigment. Damaged nose, junction between front and rear mould clearly visible.

FEMALE VEILED HEAD small: BM.1843.5-7.339 F2bIII

Belmore Collection

SIZE

H.13cm; base of chin to forehead 6.5cm; external eye corners 3.3cm; mouth 1.1cm.

⁸⁹ Roncalli 1982, pls.1-5; Haynes 1985, no.148.

⁹⁰ Or the head in the Lowie Museum that most resemble the Carpegna Bronze: Nagy 1988, pl.III, fig.5.

CLAY

Pale creamy colour, surface smooth to the touch, many inclusions visible, mostly black volcanic, red pozzolana, some mica.

FEMALE VEILED HEAD small: BM.1839.2-14.43

F2bIV

Campanari Collection

SIZE

H.13.3cm; max. width 7.3cm; base chin to forehead 5.7cm;

external eye corners 3cm; mouth 1cm.

CLAY

Light pink-orange colour, surface rough to the touch, no trace of slip coating, numerous inclusions visible, fine to medium in size, the larger being more numerous, mostly black volcanic crystals, red/brown pozzolana, mica, white shelly inclusions. The clay of this example seems to be rougher with more and larger inclusions than most of the heads of this type. From a worn matrix.

FEMALE VEILED HEAD small: BM.1839.2-14.47

F2bV

Campanari Collection

SIZE

H.12.6cm; max. head width 5.6cm; base of chin to forehead 5.6cm; external eye corners 2.8cm; mouth 0.8cm.

CLAY

Light pink-orange colour, surface smooth to the touch, several inclusions visible, fine in size with a few larger lumps, mostly black volcanic, some red pozzolana and some white shelly.

FEMALE VEILED HEAD small: BM.1839.21-14.44

F2bVI

Camapnari Collection

SIZE

H.12.4cm; max.width 6.8cm; base of chin to forehead 5.7cm; external eye corners 3cm; mouth 1cm.

CLAY

Pink-orange colour on the surface, darker than on BM.1839.2-14.43, under the surface the colour is darker with a grey core. Traces of slip coating survive on the rough surface, many inclusions visible, mostly black volcanic crystals and lumps or red/brown pozzolana, fine to medium in size, some mica and white shelly inclusions.

Very similar to F2bV, probably same generation matrix, later than F2bIV.

FEMALE VEILED HEAD small: BM.1839.2-14.46

F2cI

Campanari Collection

SIZE

H.13cm; max.width 7.1cm; base of chin to forehead 5.7cm; external eye corners 2.7cm; mouth 1cm.

CLAY

Orange-pink colour, surface fairly smooth to the touch, many inclusions visible, ill sorted, fine to medium in size, mostly black volcanic, red/brown pozzolana, mica, some white shelly inclusions. Traces of white slip coating and of red pigment survive on the surface.

ANATOMY

Small veiled female head with long neck in the shape of an inverted truncated cone. The head is wider at the top with a narrow, long face, the cheeks are full, the chin is rounded and pronounced, the forehead is broad and very high. The eyebrows are prominent and incised, the eyes are very large with protruding, swollen eyelids, the nose is long with fleshy nostrils, the mouth is small with narrow lips. The neck is damaged on the right side and on the back.

HAIRSTYLE

The hair is straight and short, rendered by deep incisions. On the forehead is a short, straight fringe, the ears are covered by the hair.

PARALLELS

The type of this head is derived from that of F2bI; the hairstyle is simplified but it is still recognisable. One very similar head of this type comes from the Tiber, where larger female examples of the same type have been identified and dated to the 3rd century B.C.⁹¹ One example of the type comes from the rich deposit at Casaletto in Ariccia⁹². Similar examples of this type from Civita Castellana are in the Museo Nazionale Romano⁹³.

FEMALE VEILED HEAD small: BM.1839.2-14.48

F2cII

Campanari Collection

SIZE

⁹¹ Inv.no.15068, H.9.5cm, red clay with black and brown inclusions: Pensabene 1980, pl.84, no.498; larger female examples: Pensabene 1980, pl.75, no.473, pl.76, no.474, pl.77, no.480 'type 7'. A simplified and more schematic male example, of 3rd century B.C., has also been compared with the type: pl.73, no.457.

⁹² H.16cm, beige-pink clay with mica and augite: Roghi 1979, p.227, no.6, pl.XLVIII, no.4.

⁹³ Inv.nos.115283/1-5, 115335.

H.12.1cm; base of chin to forehead 4.8cm; external eye corners 2.6cm; mouth 0.9cm.

CLAY

Deep orange colour, surface rough to the touch, very impure, many inclusions visible, fine to large in size, mostly black volcanic, red pozzolana (some large lumps), mica and many white shelly inclusions of varying size. Possible traces of red pigment on the face, veil and neck.

ANATOMY

Small veiled female head, the veil forms a frame around the head, the nose and part of the left side are damaged. The face is narrow and oval in shape, the forehead is wide, the chin is pronounced and slightly protruding, the cheek bones are high and pronounced. The eyebrows are prominent, the eyes are large and oblong with pronounced lids, the mouth is wide with full lips. The neck is exageratly long and widens at the base, the ears, from which large pendent earrings are suspended, appear from under the hair and protrude at the sides.

HAIRSTYLE

This head displays a headdress, possibly a wreath, that disappears under the veil just above the ears, it is divided vertically in sections c.8mm wide, and horizontally is rendered in rows of tiny holes punched with a pointed tool. The hairstyle, rendered also by incisions, is parted in the middle and falls in straight strands over the ears to neck level.

This head is of the same type of F2cI, slightly smaller from a following generation matrix, with different hairstyle parted in the middle without fringe⁹⁴.

⁹⁴ On headdress with wreath see: Thompson 1963, pl.LII-LIII; Watzinger 1905, p.19; on real wreaths from sarcophagi (one real wreath of Hellenistic age found in Egypt is now in the Royal Ontario Museum of Archaeology, Toronto): Thompson 1963, pl.LX, a. As on the heads from Troy, the thick wreath is of ring or doughnut shape with the details rendered by small dots and dashes, presumably intended to represent the leaves, flowers and berries of a real wreath. The presence of the wreath on this head shows an influence from Greek fashion probably filtered through Magna Graecia. The thick doughnut shape wreath is common in Greece, Asia Minor and the South of Italy in the late 2nd early 1st century B.C.

One identical example, probably from the same matrix, is on display in the Louvre⁹⁵.

FEMALE VEILED HEAD small: BM.1772.3-16.35

F2d

Hamilton Collection, D'Harcenville Museum Catalogue of Hamilton's Antiquities, p.592.

SIZE

H.11.8cm; max.width 65mm (no other measurements available)

CLAY

Buff clay, light pink in colour, fairly smooth surface but with numerous inclusions, mostly small in size, some mica, red-brown pozzolana and black volcanic particles.

ANATOMY

Small female head, veiled, oval face with full cheeks, the almond shaped eyes are deep-set and turn up at the external corners, the eyelids are pronounced, the nose is damaged but seems to be long and fairly narrow, the mouth is quite large and the tightly closed, full lips curl-up at the corners. The neck flares out slightly and forms a base ring which joins with the veil at the sides. The veil stands out around the head framing it. The back of the head is also modelled in the round. The head is moulded in two parts, the veil is part of the rear mould. The features on this head are faded, indicating a worn matrix.

HAIRSTYLE

The top of the head presents a short straight fringe, at the sides of the face are curly locks of hair s-shaped and tight little curls covering the ears.

The type of this head is related to that of F2bI, but there is a variant in the hairstyle with the more emphatic side curls as on F2a.

⁹⁵ Inv.no.ED 2090.

Belmore Collection

SIZE

H.12.1cm; base of chin to forehead 6.9cm; external eye corners 3.4cm; mouth 1.1cm.

CLAY

Pink-orange colour, surface rough to the touch, many inclusions visible, mostly black volcanic (some large lumps), some red pozzolana, some white shelly particles, some mica.

ANATOMY

Small veiled female head, of archaic look in the rendering of the oblong eyes with extended corners and the long narrow face. The forehead is wide, the nose is long and narrow, the mouth is small and tightly closed, the chin is round and prominent. The long neck shows a beaded necklace just above the base ring. The veil stand out gently framing the face and neck.

HAIRSTYLE

The hair is parted in the middle, with a suggestion of short fringe and falls at the sides covering the ears with short tight curly locks.

PARALLELS

This head is related to the type of F2bI, but the hairstyle with the circular side curls is that of F2d. This head presents some similarities with a small head in the Museo Civico in Treviso, of smaller size, dated by Borda to the 3rd century B.C.⁹⁶, but the hairstyle dates this example to the late 4th-early 3rd centuries B.C. The type of this head seems to compare with a larger head type from the

⁹⁶ H.10.5cm: Borda 1976, inv.no.DT.43, no.156, p.140.

deposit of Minerva Medica in Rome dated to the second half 4th century B.C.⁹⁷.

FEMALE VEILED HEAD small: BM.1843.5-7.329

F2f:

Belmore Collection

SIZE

H.15.5cm; base of chin to forehead 8.3cm; external eye corners 4cm; mouth 2cm.

CLAY

Pale creamy-orange colour, surface rough to the touch, many inclusions visible, fine to coarse in size, mostly black volcanic, red pozzolana, mica, quartz crystals, some fine white shelly particles.

ANATOMY

Small veiled female head, the veil is not a rigid frame but has a wavy movement with a fold at the top of the head. The face is oval in shape, the forehead is narrow, the chin is round but small, the cheeks are low, flat and puffy. The eyebrows are arched and pronounced, the eyes are small and oblong with eyelids rendered as a ring of clay. The nose is long, narrow and pointed, the mouth is small with full, pouting lips. The neck is short and curves out slightly at the front to form a base.

HAIRSTYLE

The hair is parted in the middle with a short triangular fringe in the middle of the forehead defined by vertical incisions. At the sides of the face the hair strands fall in tight curls and ringlets. The ears, which are only very crudely suggested, are mostly covered by the hair.

PARALLELS

⁹⁷ Gatti Lo Guzzo 1978, pl.XXXV, G, IV.

In the Museo Civico in Treviso is one head of this type, dated by Borda to the end of the 4th century B.C., and believed to be of Campanian production⁹⁸.

FEMALE VEILED HEAD: BM.1928.1-17.9 ⁹⁹

F2h

Presented by C.W.Scott, ex-collection of Mrs.W.E.Hall

SIZE

H.31cm; base of chin to forehead 14.2cm; external eye corners 8cm; mouth 3.5cm; internal eye corner to lobe 9.2cm.

CLAY

Pale pink, creamy colour, not many inclusions visible on the surface, small in size, mostly black volcanic and red pozzolana with little mica. Traces of red pigment surviving on the surface.

ANATOMY

Fine female head framed by a wide veil/nimbuslike an antefix. The face is long and slightly rectangular-shaped with an angular jaw, the cheeks are high but fairly flat, the chin is round, strong and slightly dimpled, the forehead is wide but only a triangle of it is visible, left free by the curtain of hair. The brow-line is linear and prominent, the eyes are large, oblong, sharply outlined with the upper lid projecting forward and a downward gaze. The nose is long, straight (restored at the tip) with fleshy nostrils and tip. The mouth has long, full lips tightly shut and placed close to the nose, slightly curling at the corners into a smile. The neck turns out at the base into a sort of broad pedestal, the back of the head is rounded and shaped. From the left ear, which appears from behind the front ringlets, hang a large earring, 80mm long (the right one is missing but the scar is clearly visible) of the horseshoe *grappolo* type of the 4th-3rd centuries B.C., moulded separately from the rest of the head and applied lightly

⁹⁸ Borda 1976, inv.DT.39, no.152, p.135; Bonghi Jovino 1965, pl.XVIII, D.XXIV,1, XXXIII,4, LII,a1.

⁹⁹ Turfa 1986, no.6.

to the sides. Over the top of the head is an elaborate floral diadem devised by a row of rosettes with central dot surmounted by palmettes alternated by acorn-shaped elements.

HAIRSTYLE

The hair is parted in the middle and combed to the sides in neat, narrow wavy lines, in front of the ears is a series of small and tight side curls.

PARALLELS

The type of this head is related to the type of F2a, both derived from the same prototype. In the Lowie Museum collection are two groups of heads related to F2h but with modified hairstyle, one similar in features but with different diadem and without earrings, the other displaying the same kind of jewellery¹⁰⁰. Of unknown provenance is a very similar votive head, auctioned in New York in 1991, from a related matrix, with identical hairstyle, displaying a diadem of the same type to F2a¹⁰¹. F2h is also remarkably close to a terracotta head from Caere in Boston¹⁰². One votive head, of different type, in the Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto, shows the same type of foliage and berries diadem¹⁰³.

FEMALE HEAD: BM.1839.2-14.29

F2i

Campanari Collection

SIZE

H.25.5cm; max width 15.9cm; base chin to forehead 15cm; external eye corners 8cm; mouth 3.5cm; nose to earlobe 11cm.

CLAY

¹⁰⁰ Nagy 1988, IA3h, fig.7; IA4b, fig.9.

¹⁰¹ H.24.8cm: no.244 *Art of the Ancient World*. 50th Anniversary edition, Royal Athena Gallery, no.68, vol.VII, part I. New York, January 1991.

¹⁰² *Classical Journal LXI*, 1966, 61, p.296, fig.16, note 42.

¹⁰³ Inv.no.924.81.2.

Pale creamy colour, numerous inclusions, very fine to coarse in size, mostly large lumps of red pozzolana, black volcanic crystals, some quartz crystals. Whiteslip coating and traces of red pigment present on the surface of face, ears and eyes. The head is fairly light in weight.

ANATOMY

Female head rendered in the round but 'squashed' at the back; the whole head is slightly tilted forward. The face is a rounded oval-shape with delicate features; the forehead is partly covered at the sides by the hair and only a triangular space is left free, the cheeks are full and the chin is round but little pronounced. The eyebrows, flat and straight, are not prominent and are placed close to the large and almond-shaped eyes; both upper and lower lids are rendered realistically with the upper lid overlapping the lower at the outer corners. The nose is long, straight and pointed with flaring nostrils and fleshy tip. The mouth is small with full lips, particularly the lower, and slightly parted. On the delicate long neck is a slight "Venus ring"; the neck flares out into a ring-base at the front, the back of the neck is flattened. The ears, exaggeratedly large and protruding, are applied separately. The ears at the front are hidden by a series of side locks.

HAIRSTYLE

The hair is parted in the middle and drawn to the sides loosely in a series of side curls in front of the ears. From the top of the head the hair is combed straight back, the top and back of the head show little detail simply indicated by shallow incisions. This is a simplified version of the temple locks or of the *Schläfenlocke* coiffure of F2h.

To the type of this head belong one later, veiled example in the Villa Giulia Museum of different hairstyle with tight circular curls¹⁰⁴ and a debased version from Ardea¹⁰⁵.

¹⁰⁴ Inv.no.25247; Hafner 1965, pl.16, no.1; Steingraber 1980, pl.78, no.3.

¹⁰⁵ H. 25cm: Melis-Quilici Gigli op.cit. 1982-83, p.9, pl.II, no.2.

Belmore Collection

SIZE

H.11.8cm; base of chin to forehead 8.2cm; external eye corners 4.5cm; mouth 1.9cm; internal eye corner to earlobe 5cm.

CLAY

Deep orange colour, surface rough to the touch, many inclusions visible, mostly black volcanic (some large lumps), some white shelly, green quartz crystals, little mica.

ANATOMY

Small female head with an archaic look accentuated by the fixed smiling expression. The face is long and oval in shape, the cheek-bones are high but not pronounced, the forehead is wide, the chin is round and prominent. The eyes are large, wide-set and placed high on the head, the eyelids are sharply indicated by deep incisions in the clay, the eyebrows are also prominent. The nose is long and straight, damaged at the end, the mouth is large with narrow lips curling at the corners in an archaic smile. The ears are exaggeratedly large and fairly crudely rendered. The head, which is made in one solid piece, stands on a ring-base partly damaged.

HAIRSTYLE

The hair is short and parted in the middle, at the front is modelled in short tight curls covering the top of the ears. The hair at the back of the head is rendered by a criss-cross pattern of shallow incisions

PARALLELS

The style of this head suggests a dating in the late 5th early 4th centuries B.C. The affinity between this head and a little votive bronze head in Bern, dated to the second half of the 5th century B.C., suggests for this type of small head

direct dependency from contemporary small bronze works¹⁰⁶. It is possible that these objects were manufactured in the same workshops with the votive bronzes sharing prototypes

The two heads resemble in looks, solidity of form and in features: the long oval of the face, the wide eyes deeply rimmed, the thick lips, the long neck and in the rendering of the hairstyle. In the MGE are three heads of the same type from very closely related matrices¹⁰⁷.

FEMALE VEILED HEAD small: BM.1843.5-7.333

F2jII

Baltimore Collection

SIZE

H.16cm; base of chin to forehead 8.3cm; external eye corners 4.5cm; mouth 1.9cm; internal eye corner to earlobe 4.5cm.

CLAY

Orange colour, surface rough to the touch, numerous inclusions many large in size, mostly black volcanic and some red pozzolana. The external dark colouring suggests that originally it was painted with red pigment.

ANATOMY

Small veiled female head with long oval face of archaic features. The forehead is wide, the high cheek bones are flat, the chin is round and strong. The exagerrated large eyes (right damaged) are closely set and bulbous, the nose is long and straight (damaged). The mouth is curled up at the corners in an archaic smile the lips are narrow and tight. The ears are only suggested by a lump of clay, the neck is long and terminates in a square-shaped pedestal. This head is solid and made in one piece; there are two small holes under the base, 14mm deep, possibly for inserting the head onto some other element.

¹⁰⁶ *Kunst der Etrusker*, p.79, no.95.

¹⁰⁷ Inv.nos.13890 (with square pedestal), 13810 and 13811: Hafner 1965, pl.14, no.2.

HAIRSTYLE

The hair is parted in the middle and falls at the sides of the face in short, tight ringlets pulled at the back leaving the ears only partly uncovered.

This head is the same type of F2JI probably from the same matrix modified at the neck, base and veil. In the MGE is one head of the same type with square pedestal¹⁰⁸.

FEMALE VEILED HEAD small: BM.1839.2-14.41

F2kI

Campanari Collection

SIZE

H.12.6cm; max. width 8.2cm; base chin to forehead 5.5cm; external eye corners 2.5cm; mouth 1cm.

CLAY

Light pinky-orange colour, numerous inclusions visible, mostly black volcanic, mica, some red/brown pozzolana, quartz crystals, white shelly inclusions. Traces of slip coating present on the surface.

ANATOMY

Small veiled female head, the joining point between the back and front mould is visible around the base of the veil. The neck is very long and on it is a necklace made of round, bead-like elements. The face is long and narrow, with flat cheek bones, the forehead is high, the chin prominent, the eyes are large and oblong in shape, the nose is damaged, the mouth is large. The poor execution of the head is due to a worn matrix.

¹⁰⁸ Inv.no.13809.

HAIRSTYLE

Voluminous hairstyle parted in the middle and pulled back and high on the head in wavy/curly strands. Around the top of the head is a broad ornamental diadem. Some ringlets fall at the side of the face covering the ears.

PARALLELS

The rendering of the features on this head, particularly the eyes and the mouth, show an intended archaism that suggests early 5th century B.C. votive bronzes, like the north Etruscan statuette of a draped female figure from Falterona in the BM¹⁰⁹. The hairstyle with the broad diadem is the same displayed by the figure of *Velia Seitithi* in the *Tomba degli Scudi*, dated to c.280 B.C.¹¹⁰ and found on several heads of votive statues and antefixes dated to the 3rd century B.C.¹¹¹.

A number of votive statues from Lavinium, dated to the last quarter of the 4th century, display a similar broad diadem¹¹². Two examples of this type from related matrix and of similar clay were retrieved in a votive deposit at Palestrina, in an area identified as dedicated to the cult of Hercules¹¹³. A late 4th century bronze coin in the pit gives a *terminus post quem* for the dating of the deposit¹¹⁴. One of the two small heads wears a pair of earrings of 4th century B.C. type.

One head of the same type but with slightly differing hairstyle comes from Artena¹¹⁵. One very similar head of the same type is in the Danish National

¹⁰⁹ Inv.no.BM.47.11.1.2, H.14.3cm: Walters 1899, pl.XII no.450; Riis 1941, p.123; Brendel 1978, p.226, fig.152; Richardson 1983, p.292, fig.692; Haynes 1985, no.103.

¹¹⁰ Pallottino 1952, p.105; Brendel 1978, p.340, fig.265.

¹¹¹ Briguet 1976, p.29, fig.58; Antefix heads in the Villa Giulia Museum: inv.nos.3284, 7987; Andren 1940, pp.98-99, pl.30, 106.

¹¹² *Enea nel Lazio*, p.238, D 221; p.243, D 226; p.244, D 227; p.246, D 228.

¹¹³ H.15cm, W.6.7; H.9.8cm, W.5.5cm. Red-brown and creamy colour clays with numerous inclusions: Zaccagni 1980, pp.188-189, pl.XXXIX, fig.4.

¹¹⁴ Zaccagni 1988, p.188.

¹¹⁵ Inv.no.89.AR.B.108/5: *La civiltà di Artena*. pp.77, 80, fig.6, no.6.

Museum¹¹⁶, one in the Louvre¹¹⁷ and one from Palestrina is in the Villa Giulia Museum in Rome¹¹⁸. One head of antefix dated to 4th-3rd centuries B.C. in the Museo Nazionale Romano, shows the same characteristics and similar style¹¹⁹.

FEMALE VEILED HEAD small: BM.1843.5-7.332

F2kII

Belmore Collection

SIZE

H.10.9cm; width of base 5.5cm; external eye corners 2.7cm; mouth 1.2cm; base of chin to forehead 4.9cm.

CLAY

Probably creamy-orange colour, very dark external surface possibly, due to decayed red pigment. Surface fairly smooth to the touch, several inclusions visible, medium in size, mostly black volcanic and red pozzolana.

ANATOMY

Small veiled female head. The face is long, oval and narrow, the chin is round and prominent, the high cheek bones are flat, the forehead is wide, the neck is long, flaring slightly at the base. The eyes are exaggeratedly large with very pronounced lids formed by rings of clay as found on several small heads. The nose is damaged but probably narrow and long, the mouth is small with full tight lips. The veil frames the face and the neck (11mm high) leaving them well exposed. The back of the head is not modelled and is partly flattened.

¹¹⁶ H.12cm: Breitenstain 1941, pl.99, no.791. Acquired in 1878 from the Roman market; almost identical probably from the same matrix, even the "kink" in the veil correspond.

¹¹⁷ Inv.no.ED 2090.

¹¹⁸ Inv.no.13462.

¹¹⁹ H.20.7cm, inv.no.626333, scavi Massari ex-Musco Kircheriano: Pensabene-Sanzi Di Mino 1983, pl.X, no.30. An identical example is in the Vatican Museum: Andren 1940, p.506, II, 3, pl.158, no.538.

HAIRSTYLE

The hair is parted in the middle and is pulled back and high on the head. Around the face are neat, wavy rows of hair strands covering the ears. At the top of the head is a broad ornamental diadem in the form of a large band open at the central point.

This head is the type of F2kI from very closely related matrix.

FEMALE VEILED HEAD (bust): BM.1974.8-12.24

F2II

Found unregistered

SIZE

H.30.5cm; base of chin to forehead 13cm; external eye corners 7.4cm; nose 4.5cm; mouth 2.7cm.

CLAY

Deep orange colour, surface smooth to the touch, many inclusions present, mostly black volcanic crystals, mica and some quartz.

ANATOMY

Female veiled head and shoulder; the veil, rounded an full at the back, stands out around the head, neck and shoulders like a frame in the fashion of an antefix. The face is oval, long and full without the angularity of F2a and F2h. The forehead is broad and spacious, largely free of hair, the cheek bones are high but not pronounced, the chin is round and prominent. The arch of the eyebrows is linear and close to the wide-set eyes, rounded in shape with the external corners turning downwards¹²⁰. The nose is long and straight with fleshy nostrils and pointed tip, the mouth is small, straight with full lips, the upper lip close to the nose. The neck is long and graceful, the gently rounded shoulders are exposed and free of ornament. From the ears, mostly covered by

¹²⁰ On the eyes is a definite difference in shape with those of types F2a and F2h, now more open and staring.

the hair, hang a pair of earrings of Greek style in the shape of a long triangular pendent.

HAIRSTYLE

The hair is parted in the middle, swept away from the forehead towards the back in soft, thick wavy strands. Above the forehead is a series of three narrow braids wrapped round the head and disappearing under the lateral waves. Above this is a crown of flat rays, probably indicating the hair arrangement at the top of head. Two small ringlets escape the neat arrangement on the forehead.

PARALLELS

The type of this head is found in numerous votive deposits. Two heads of this type were excavated in the *Capitolium* of the Roman colony of *Privernum*, now in the stores of the Museo Nazionale Romano¹²¹. Two heads of the same type are in the Villa Giulia Museum in Rome from the 4th-2nd centuries B.C. temple of Mater Matute, at Satricum¹²². The clay is alike but the hairstyle differs slightly. One head of this type from Lavinium, shows a different hairstyle¹²³. In the Lowie Museum collection this type is present with one example, very similar in all details including hairstyle, rays, forehead ringlets and rounded frame, but with a slightly more angular face rendering, as found on F2h, indicating possibly that the Lowie Museum head is of earlier generation matrix than the BM's example¹²⁴. One head in the MGE, from Caere, is very similar to head F2II, probably from related matrix¹²⁵. One head of this type in the Hermitage Museum is of similar clay and displays the same style of

¹²¹ 1957 unrecorded excavation: Cancellieri 1986, fig.10, nos.6-7; dated to the 2nd half of the 4th century B.C. In the *ager Privernum*, prior to the founding of the Roman colony of Privernum in the 2nd century B.C., a sacred area of cult had existed since at least the end of the 4th century B.C.

¹²² Inv.nos.12276, 11500.

¹²³ H.24cm, Ara VI, inv.no.404-460: La Regina *Lavinium* 1975, fig.287, C.61.

¹²⁴ Nagy 1988, p.82, IA18, pl.XVII, fig.33.

¹²⁵ Inv.no.13790: Hafner 1965, pl.15, no.2.

earrings¹²⁶. One head of this type is in the NCG in Copenhagen¹²⁷ and one with horseshoe earrings is in the Louvre¹²⁸.

FEMALE VEILED HEAD: BM.1974.8-12.25 ¹²⁹

F2III

Found unregistered

SIZE

H.25.5cm; base of chin to forehead 13.3cm; external eye corners 7.3cm; nose 4.5cm; mouth 2.8cm.

CLAY

Deep orange colour on the surface, paler inside with dark core. Surface smooth to the touch, numerous inclusions visible, mostly black volcanic particles, mica and some quartz crystals. Same clay as F2II. Traces of red pigment surviving on the surface of face and neck.

ANATOMY

Female veiled head, with long, oval face, broad forehead, prominent round chin and flat cheeks. The arched eyebrows are not pronounced, the eyes are large and rounded, framed by linear eyelids with sharply down-turning outer corners, the pupils are slightly bulbous. The nose, damaged at the tip, is long and straight, the mouth is small with full straight lips. The neck and veil are damaged and mostly missing, the back is slightly rounded with a vent hole in the middle.

¹²⁶ H.27.5cm: *Hermitage Museum Catalogue*, no. 177. With a flat back, no provenance, the catalogue states: 'found in Miertz 1919', presumably from a pre-Revolution private collection.

¹²⁷ H.26.7cm.: Breitenstain 1941, no.51, said to be from Politorium; Riis 1941, p.39; Riis 1981, fig.17, p.28 Caeretan type 21B.

¹²⁸ Inv.no.CP 3796.

¹²⁹ Turfa 1986, no.8.

HAIRSTYLE

The hair is parted in the middle and swept back at the sides in soft thick wavy strands covering the ears in a voluminous mass. Around the top of the head is a series of four narrow, tight braids disappearing under the lateral waves and the veil.

This head is the same type of F2II from a closely related matrix of the same generation but a slightly poorer version less precise in the details, for example the two ringlets on the forehead are missing.

FEMALE VEILED HEAD: BM.1814.7-4.858

F2m

Second Townley Collection (also registered 1949.2-20.7 and deleted)

SIZE

H.15.3cm; base of chin to forehead 8.2cm; external eye corners 3.8cm; max.width 9.2cm; mouth 1.4cm; base chin to nose ridge 5.5cm.

CLAY

Pale creamy-pink colour, numerous inclusions visible, ill sorted, fine to coarse in size and angular, mostly black volcanic particles, mica, red pozzolana. Surface smooth to the touch and very dark at the front, possibly due to decayed pigment, the back surface is beige/brown. This head is fairly light in weight.

ANATOMY

Small veiled female head with full oval face, round chin, flat cheeks and high forehead. The long straight nose, is slightly turned towards the left due to a defect of the mould. The eyebrows are fairly pronounced and are joined to the bridge of the nose, the eyes are large and round, not particularly well rendered due to the worn matrix, the mouth is small with full lips. The neck comes out to form a ring-shaped pedestal at the front, the veil is raised above and around the

head leaving the face free, the back is rounded. The fusing point between the two mould is visible at the top of the head where the veil meets the hair. In the middle of the neck is a ridge running vertically down, probably due to a defect in the mould.

HAIRSTYLE

The hair is neatly parted in the middle and arranged in wavy strands pulled towards the back of the head covering most of the ears from which hang a pair of horseshoe earrings, the right one better rendered than the left, c.25mm long.

The type of this head can be compared to that of F2I in the hairstyle and in the features. Numerous votive heads related to that type also wear the horseshoe style earrings. On one very similar example of same size and same style earrings is in the MGE¹³⁰.

FEMALE VEILED HEAD small: BM.1839.2-14.45

F2nI

Camapanari Collection

SIZE

H.13.2cm; max.width 7.2cm; external eye corners 3.3cm; base of chin to forehead 6.2cm; mouth 1.2cm.

CLAY

Deep orange colour, many inclusions visible, ill sorted, very fine to medium in size, mostly black volcanic, mica, red/brown pozzolana, some white shelly inclusions. Traces of white slip coating present.

ANATOMY

Small veiled female head with long, narrow face, flat cheek bones, wide forehead and rounded, strong chin. The neck is long and straight and turns out slightly at the base. The eyebrows are pronounced, the eyes are large but not

¹³⁰ H.15.5cm, inv.no.13821: Hafner 1965, pl.15, no.3.

rendered in detail, the nose is broad (damaged), the mouth is small with full lips.

HAIRSTYLE

The hair is parted in the middle and swept to the sides in wavy strands above the ears which are left exposed but not visible on this head. On the top of the head is a diadem or hair-net.

PARALLELS

One very similar head of this type, probably from a closely related matrix, is in the Museo dell'Accademia Etrusca in Cortona¹³¹. Two unpublished heads of this type are on display in the Villa Giulia Museum, one from the temple of Mater Matute in Satricum, the other from Praeneste.

FEMALE VEILED HEAD small: BM.1839.2-14.42

F2nII

Campanari Collection

SIZE

H.13cm; max. width 7cm; base chin to forehead 5cm; external eye corners 2.7cm; mouth 1cm.

CLAY

Light pink-orange colour, numerous inclusions visible, ill sorted, very fine to medium in size, mostly black volcanic crystals, mica, red/brown pozzolana and some white shelly inclusions.

ANATOMY

Small veiled female head with long narrow face, wide forehead, flat cheek bones, rounded chin and long neck. The high veil frames the head leaving the entire face uncovered. The eyes are large and the eyebrows pronounced, the

¹³¹ Bruschetti-Gori Sassoli-Guidotti 1988, p.60, no.138.

nose, damaged, is prominent, the mouth is small with full lips. The joining point between the two mould is clearly visible around the veil. From a much worn matrix.

HAIRSTYLE

The hair is parted in the middle and gently pulled back in a soft wavy mass of regular strands, on the top of the head is a diadem, or hair-net, flat at the top; the ears are left exposed.

PARALLELS

From a related matrix to F2nI but of different generation. One very similar head of the same type from Praeneste is in the Villa Giulia Museum¹³². One very similar head of the same type is in Cortona¹³³.

¹³² Inv.no.13640.

¹³³ Brushetti-Gori-Guidotti 1988, p.61, no.139.

GROUP 3

In this group heads F3aI (BM.1974.8-12.20) and F3aII (BM.1958.8-22.22) are the same type of different generations. F3b (BM.1756.1-1.972), a veiled half head, is a variant of the type with modified hairstyle. The connection with the first type is evidenced by the distinctive shape of the eyes, mouth and spread-out ears.

Head F3c (BM.1982.9-29.5) can be associated to F3b. The resemblance is difficult to perceive, but it is disclosed by the shape of the face, the modelling of the features and by the outline of the profile. The curly hairstyle, although not identical, seem to correspond. Stylistically this head shows affinity with examples of 4th century B.C. coroplastic art from south Italy, particularly Sicilian. Some heads with polos from Morgantina display a similar fullness of face, large slanting eyes and similar hairstyle¹. However, the type of the veil, tightly placed over the hair, and diadem with *nodus Herculeus* on this head, suggest a date in the 3rd century B.C.

FEMALE HEAD with stephane: BM.1974.8-12.20

F3aI

Found unregistered

SIZE

H.27cm; base of chin to forehead 14.5cm; external eye corners 7.5cm; nose 4.7cm; mouth 3cm; internal eye corner to lobe 7.8cm.

¹ Bell 1981, pl.26, nos.103, 104, 105.

CLAY

Deep orange colour, surface smooth to the touch, many inclusions visible, medium to coarse in size, mostly black volcanic particles (spongy), some red pozzolana, mica, some white chalky inclusions quite large in size.

ANATOMY

Female head with *stephane*, damaged on the hair and chin. The face is oval and full, the high forehead is partly covered by the hair at the sides, the cheek-bones are high and fairly pronounced, the chin is prominent and pointed. The eyebrows are heavy, arched and low, with a strong nose-brow line, the large eyes are almond-shaped and irregular with sharp corners; the eyelids are crudely rendered as borders and the upper lid overlaps the lower at the outer corner. The nose is long and straight, slightly upturned at the tip, the nostrils are wide, flaring and fleshy. The mouth, placed close to the nose, is small, very shapely with full, strongly defined pouting lips. The large ears are placed very low, the right being lower than the left, turning outwards and uncovered by the hair. It is curious that such crudely rendered ears should display an attempt to anatomical accuracy in showing the ear-drum. The neck is long and tubular, flaring slightly at the base; it display a ridge across the middle presumably a "Venus necklace".

HAIRSTYLE

The hair is parted in the middle and combed back over the top of the ears in soft, regular waves. The hair is rendered only at the front and sides, the back and top of the head are modelled but there is no indication of details, the neck also is hair-free. At the top of the head is a crescent-shaped ridge, which could indicate a *stephane*. Between the *stephane* and the front hair is a gap where the two mould join. There is a vent-hole at the back of the head of c.30mm diameter.

PARALLELS

This head type is related to a type from Capua in the rendering of the features and hairstyle, dependent from 4th century B.C. Greek sculpture². The Capuan examples do not have the stephane. The stephane, an ornament typical of the Hellenistic period, in Etruria seems to be fashionable in the 3rd century B.C.³. According to Thompson, the low and simple type of stephane, as on this head, is more common in the earlier part of the 3rd century B.C., later it becomes higher and more elaborate⁴.

FEMALE HEAD with stephane: BM.1958.8-22.22

F3aII

Found unregistered

SIZE

H.26cm; base of chin to forehead 14cm; external eye corners 8cm; mouth 3cm; internal eye corner to ear lobe 7.5cm.

CLAY

Orange-creamy in colour, uneven firing, many inclusions visible, mostly black volcanic particles (spongy), quartz crystals, mica, red pozzolana. Traces of red pigment present.

ANATOMY

Female head with oval face, high cheek bones, prominent and pointed chin, the forehead is high but partly covered at the sides by the hair. The eyebrows are heavy and low, the line almost straight unlike that of F3aI, the eyes are large and oblong, more widely set than on F3aI, the eyelids are fairly pronounced.

2 Bonghi Jovino 1965, pl.XIV, DIX a1, DX a1.

3 Bonfante 1975, p.78.

4 Thompson 1963, pp.49-50. However, at Morgantina, in Sicily, the heads wearing stephane, mostly of the undecorated low crescent type, are of late Hellenistic period: Bell 1981, p.67.

The nose is long and straight with fleshy, flaring nostrils, the mouth is small and sharply defined with full, pouting lips; the ears, partly covered by the hair, show earrings of a simple stud-and-triangle pendent type. The neck is long and tubular.

HAIRSTYLE

The hair, parted in the middle, is combed back in soft waves, thicker than on F3aI where the hair is indicated more in detail. Here the hairstyle is rendered as broad, uniform masses of hair, evidenced only at the front and sides. The top and back of the head are modelled in the round but are totally lacking in details, the few details on the front of the head are achieved by shallow incisions with a sharp tool. At the top of the head is a probable stephane as on F3aI, but more pointed. This head is the same type of F3aI but from a following generation matrix.

FEMALE HALF HEAD VEILED: BM.1756.1-1.972

F3b

Slone Collection, bought in Italy by the Abbé Sterbini.

SIZE

H.25cm; base chin to forehead 13.2cm; nose 4.2cm; eye 2.9cm; mouth 2cm; nose to earlobe 10cm.

CLAY

Orange colour, many inclusions visible, small to medium in size, mostly black volcanic crystals, quartz crystals, mica, very little red pozzolana. Traces of red pigment surviving on the face and neck.

ANATOMY

Female veiled half head, left profile. The face is oval and full, the forehead is broad, the chin is pronounced and slightly pointed in profile. The nose is long, straight and fleshy, the line of the nose and the forehead form one continuous

line, the eyebrow is low and pronounced, close to the eye which is sharply outlined with the eyelid turning downwards. The mouth is large with very fleshy pouting lips. The ear is spread out on the side, the neck is long and broad turning outwards into a base. The veil at the back is squashed, and there is a suspension hole 30mm in diameter.

HAIRSTYLE

The hair, parted in the middle, falls loosely in short locks at the sides of the face in front of the ears.

PARALLELS

One half head of this type is in Treviso⁵. A version of this type of head comes from the Tiber, dated to the 3rd century B.C.⁶

FEMALE VEILED HEAD: BM.1982.9-29.5

F3c

No record card

SIZE

H.24cm; max. width across face 21cm; base chin to forehead 14.5cm; ext. eye corners 8cm; nose 4.5cm; mouth 3cm; tip nose to earlobe 9cm.

CLAY

Deep dark orange colour, numerous inclusions visible, small to large in size, mostly white shelly inclusions, black volcanic (spongy) particles, red/brown pozzolana, some mica.

⁵ Inv.no.DT.79, H-13.3cm: Borda 1976, p.176, no.191; dated too conservatively by Borda to the 2nd-1st centuries B.C.

⁶ H.21.5cm, chin to forehead 10.5cm: Pensabene 1980, pp.198, 202, type 6A, no.479, pl.78.

ANATOMY

Large female veiled head with round, hart-shaped face, wide across the middle and narrowing down to the chin. The forehead is wide but low, the chin is small and pointed, the cheeks are flat. The eyebrows are arched and placed close to the deep-set, almond shaped and slanting eyes, the upper eyelids are arched and the lower are straight. The nose is straight with flaring nostrils, the mouth is small and well defined with a full lower lip. Only part of the earlobes is visible, from which hang a pair of earrings not very clearly defined, possibly round pendants. The neck is broad and presents a thick, double "Venus necklace" well defined as folds across the neck, just above a simple string necklace. At the top of the head, above the veil, is a well defined *nodus Herculeus* diadem.

HAIRSTYLE

The curly hair, parted in the middle, is drawn back loosely to cover the top of the ears, with locks falling on the neck to shoulder level. The hair is only rendered at the front, the back, which is covered by the veil, is squashed and flattened.

GROUP 4

One of the uniting factors amongst the heads of Group 4 is the hairstyle, developed within the 4th century B.C. and continuing into the first half of the 3rd century B.C. This group embraces the votive heads typologically defined by the *Schläfenlocke*, side locks, or side curls. This style is represented on numerous examples in the BM's collection, that well illustrate the variety of types and their topographical distribution. However, the hairstyle is only an indirect link and not all the heads in this group actually display that style. Although the hairstyle is perceived as distinctive Etrusco-Italic in character, some of these types are found only in Campania¹.

Heads exhibiting this hairstyle are discussed in Chapter 8 "Hairstyle"; also a number of heads in Group 2 show a directly related coiffure, in particular: F2a; F2h and F2i. The two groups converge and integrate each other. A number of distinct prototypes can be identified, from which several types, all more or less related, derive.

A typological relationship with Tarentine antefixes of 4th century B.C., has long been accepted² for the heads of this group with *Schläfenlocke*, transmitted to Campania and the rest of the Etrusco-Italic area via Capua, a place that shares close links with Tarentum³. The typological development of the types within this group is complex, as the prototypes, well known in Etruria, are often animated by new influences of Tarentine models. In Etruria, the hairstyle is developed from Chiusine cinerary sculpture⁴ via Caere, and appears on different types of votive terracotta heads, as F4dI and on several examples in

¹ Ciaghi in Bonghi Jovino 1990, p.133.

² Bartoloni 1970, p.260; Bonghi Jovino 1976, pp.28-31; Ciaghi in Bonghi Jovino 1990, p.134.

³ Koch 1912, pl.IX, fig.5; Bonghi Jovino 1968, pp.66-78; Bonghi Jovino 1971, p.28.

⁴ Group 2: F2a; Cristofani 1975, pls.XXVII, XXIX; *Civiltà degli Etruschi* pp.301, nos.11.22; Comella 1986, p.16.

the MGE⁵. Head types from Lavinium are similar to the Caëretan examples and also show dependence from the art of Chiusi⁶.

A recent study on Campanian head types belonging to this group, has significantly broadened the understanding of the distribution and development of the types⁷. The evolution diagram proposed for the Campanian terracottas, is correct, but a few variations can be suggested (Tables 3-4).

The type of F4c (BM.1974.8-12.9) is possibly developed after that of F4a (BM.1982.9-29.4), directly derived from Tarentine antefixes⁸. Both types are Apulian in origin, but F4a is a direct Apulian type, with Classical hairstyle (not the *Schläfenlocke*), parted in the middle and swept to the sides, with the addition of two long snaky side ringlets.

The type of F4c acquires its hairstyle from Etruria where it is also shown on an antefixes at Falerii⁹ and Chiusi¹⁰. An antefix from Falerii, dated to the second half of the 4th century B.C., shows the connection between the two votive heads as can be seen on Table 1. But head F4c also relates typologically to a votive head from Lavinium, for which a connection with an antefix from Tarentum, the same from which the type of F4a derives, has been noted¹¹. A direct exchange of types between Tarentum and Latium seems evident, influencing each other in turn.

⁵ From Caere, inv.nos.13759, 13905: Kaschnitz-Weinberg 1925, pp.335-336, pl.XIX figs.1,2,3; Vessberg 1942, p. 245, pl. XCIII, 1; Hafner 1965, pp.50-53, pls.18, nos.1-2; 19, nos.2,4; Riis 1980, Caere type A19, p.28; *Civiltà degli Etruschi*, p.386, nos.17.2,1; 17.2,2; 1. A fragment in the Lowie Museum of a head from Caere "Vignaccia" shows the same hairstyle and earring as MGE inv.13759 and is probably the same type: Nagy 1988, IC2, fig.66.

⁶ *Enea nel Lazio*, p.235, D 217.

⁷ Ciaghi in Bonghi Jovino 1990, pp.127-145, pls XVI, XVII.

⁸ Laviosa 1954, pl.LXXIII, fig.5.

⁹ Andren 1940, pl.34,II: 6, fig.119; *Enea nel Lazio*, p.253, D 237, D 238; Riis 1980, Falerii type 22; Comella 1986, pl.87, h VIII; Bonghi Jovino 1990, p.137, pl.XVI, no.3 .

¹⁰ Levi D. 'Sculture inedite del Museo di Chiusi.' *BdA* 1934-35, p.51, fig.8, no.5.

¹¹ See note 3. Laviosa 1954, pl.LXXII, figs.5-6, pp.28-31; Bonghi Jovino 1990, p.134.

The Apulian type of F4c is also closely related to another central Italian type, found particularly at Caere¹² and Lavinium¹³. This type is represented by the head of statue F4dI (BM.1839.2-14.31), similar to the Caeretan and Lavinate examples, also statues. The link between these two types is clearly revealed by half-head F4dII (BM.1954.9-14.1), a popular type particularly at Caere, which shows identical elaborate hairstyle as present on F4dI and features, in profile, like those of F4c¹⁴.

The type of head F4e (BM.1814.7-4.862) seems to be preferred in Latium¹⁵ and in Rome¹⁶, where it appears to have been developed and where it is more frequently found¹⁷. This type is still clearly dependent from the Apulian models, the connection with the type of F4c is discernible in the stylistic attributes, the severe and regular, but at the same time soft features, and the plastic modelling of the hair. From this, other types are derived, the most popular being that of F4f (BM.1982.9-29.3), characterised by a rigid hairstyle of tight, circular curls placed all around the face. This type is frequently found both in central Italy and Campania. The connecting link between the type of F4e and that of F4f is represented by a type of head from Latium¹⁸, as illustrated in Table 2¹⁹.

¹² Kaschnitz-Weinberg 1925, pl.XIX, figs.2, 3, p.233, fig.3; Hafner 1965, pl.19, nos.1-4; Riis 1980, Caere type A19, p.28, *Civiltà degli Etruschi*, p.386, nos.17.2,1; 17.2,2.

¹³ La Regina in *Lavinium* 1975, p.209, fig.279; *Enea nel Lazio*, p.235, D 217; p.236, D 218.

¹⁴ The correspondence in profile exists also, of course, with F4dI. A good method for verifying the coincidence of features is to draw the outline of the profiles from the photographs of the heads on tracing paper and then overlap them. Very often details that would otherwise be overlooked are revealed.

¹⁵ From Tarquinia: Comella 1982, pl.52, B2 XXXVIII; from Veii: Vagnetti 1971, pl.XIX, BII; from Lavinium: *Roma medio Repubblicana*, pl.LXXI, no.469; La Regina in *Lavinium* 1975, p.205, fig.274, C34; p.206, fig.275, C35; *Enea nel Lazio*, p.246, D 228.

¹⁶ *Roma medio Repubblicana*, pl.XLI, no.226, p.166; Gatti Lo Guzzo 1978, pl.XXXIV, G II, p.169; Comella 1981, p.783, 801, fig.19; Pensabene 1980, pl.75, no.472, pp.199-200; Quilici Gigli 1981, p.81, fig.2.

¹⁷ Chiaghi in Bonghi Jovine 1990, p.138.

¹⁸ One from Ariccia: Roghi 1979, pl.XLVIII, fig.3; and one from Tarquinia: Stefani 1984, pl.IV, C 10.

¹⁹ Chiaghi in Bonghi Jovino 1990, pl.XVI, no. 12 and pl.XVII, no.3.

The "Lucera type 5" reproduced from the Campanian study in Table 4²⁰, is derived from the "Rome-Lavinium type 9"²¹, in Table 3, which is the same as F4e. However, it seems to be more akin to the type of F4c, an independent type of Apulia origin. The "Fregelle type 10" in Table 1 is, in the Campanian study²², also derived from the "Rome-Lavinium" type, but it is probably closer to the Caeretan and the Lucera types. The similarity is revealed, not only from the comparable style but from the necklace, the shape of the base-pedestal (as on the Lucera example) and the technique of modelling the face and hair (as on the Caere example).

The type of F4j (BM.1839.2-14.34), probably of Caeretan origin²³, shows the connection between the "Caere type 7" in Table 3²⁴, F4d, and the "Fregellae type 10"²⁵, having an elongation of the face and more delicate features.

This later type shows a significant difference from the rest of the *Schäfenlocke* group, having the twisted, front locks placed behind, rather than in front, of the ears. This is a development of the type adopted also by another Caeretan type, head F4k (BM.1839.2-14.27), where a further change is introduced in the form of a middle parting with waved strands, in Tarentine fashion.

At Cales, in Campania, the type of F4h (BM.1950.1-4.7) corresponds to "Cales type I" in Table 4²⁶ and F4i (BM.1859.2-16.9), a much debased example of the type, corresponds to "Cales type II"²⁷. The two types are closely related and the likeness is emphasised on head F4h, which clearly shows characteristics of each of the Cales types.

²⁰ Ciaghi in Bonghi Jovino 1990, pl.XVII.

²¹ Ciaghi in Bonghi Jovino 1990, pl.XVI.

²² Ciaghi in Bonghi Jovino 1990, pl.XVI.

²³ Several examples of this type are in the MGE collection from Caere: Hafner 1965, pl.20, nos.3,4; pl.21, no.1.

²⁴ Ciaghi in Bonghi Jovino 1990, pl.XVI.

²⁵ Ciaghi in Bonghi Jovino 1990, pl.XVI.

²⁶ Ciaghi in Bonghi Jovino 1990, pl.XVII.

²⁷ Ciaghi in Bonghi Jovino 1990, pl.XVII.

F4h and F4i are both derived from Caeretan types, as resemblance with head F4dI shows in the hair arrangement, the heavy shape of the face, the large, slightly droopy eyes and the full, sullen mouth²⁸.

The type of F4g (BM.1859.2-16.10), probably a statue, is found at Cales, also as individual heads with different hairstyles²⁹. It probably derives from a Lavinium type which shows the same elongated face and neck, straightness of hair-strands, necklace and plain band diadem³⁰.

The considerations that can be drawn for the heads of this complex group, concord with those made for the Campanian study by Ciaghi³¹. The original models for the prototypes spread north from Magna Graecia, most probably Tarentum, via Campania filtering into the interior of Latium. Soon after, in central Italy, the prototype is modified into new types which become popular, not only in their area of origin, but also south, in Campania, as is the case for the types F4f, F4d, and even in Apulia. The original model, therefore, travels back, modified and diversified in sketchy types of local, poorer quality, characterised by the Italic tendency to abstract linearity and frontality.

Group 4 lasts between the end of the 4th and the first half of the 3rd centuries B.C.; the rapid and vast popularity of the types coincide with the expansion of Roman influence in Latium and Campania. In Campania heads of this group are found in abundance at Cales, but rarely at Capua, confirming the hypothesis that the types developed in Latin territory and spread mostly in areas directly controlled by Rome³².

²⁸ Particularly the affinity between head F4h and examples of the type in the MGE. inv.no.13905, "Caere type 7", is evident.

²⁹ In the Museo Nazionale at Naples, inv.no.MNN/22073: Ciaghi in Bonghi Jovino 1990, pl.IV, p.81.

³⁰ *Enea nel Lazio*, p.239, D 221; p.251, D 234; p.252, D 235 and D236; p.254, D 239.

³¹ Ciaghi in Bonghi Jovino 1990, pp.143-145.

³² Ciaghi in Bonghi Jovino 1990, p.143; *Roma medio Repubblicana*, pp.138-139; Comella 1981, pp.768-775; Pensabene 1979, pp.218-219; Comella 1982, pp.33-39.

No record card

SIZE

H.24cm; base of chin to forehead 12cm; ext. eye corners 7.8cm; nose 4.2cm; mouth 2.6cm.

CLAY

Orange colour, inclusions on the surface not much visible under a thick layer of white slip and red pigment, small to medium in size, mostly black volcanic crystals, quartz crystals, white shelly inclusions, some mica, little red pozzolana.

ANATOMY

Female veiled head, heavy in weight with thick walls. The face is rounded and full with squarish jaw, the cheek-bones are high, the forehead is low and triangular. The eyebrows are heavy, droopy and close to the eyes. The eyes are slightly deep-set and heavy lidded, turning downwards at the external corners, the details of the pupil and iris are rendered by fine incisions with a sharp point. The lower lid is swollen adding to the expressive look on the face of this head who gazes steadily ahead. The nose is damaged but seems to be short and straight, the mouth is small with full lips well separated from the nose. The top of the ears is partly covered by the hair, the neck turns out to join the veil in a base. The veil stands out around the head and neck like a frame (c.2cm) in the fashion of an antefix. The back is slightly rounded and presents a vent-hole near the top (3cm in diameter).

HAIRSTYLE

The hair, parted in the middle, is pulled to the back over the ears in gentle waves divided in strands; two long, snaky ringlets fall on the neck to shoulder level. On this head the ringlets are actually applied on the veil as part of the

back mould. Two smaller ringlets escape the mass of hair and are on the cheeks at each side in front of the ears.

PARALLELS

This type of votive head is of South Italian origin, probably produced in Cales inspired by Tarantine models. The type derives directly from Tarentine antefixes: the expression on the face, the shape of the eyes with the downturned external corners and of the mouth, and above all the arrangement of the hair with the ringlets spreading on the veil like little snakes, strongly suggest the influence of a group of 4th century B.C. antefixes from Tarantum³³. A head from an early 4th century Tarentine antefix in the Antikenmuseum in Basel share the same hairstyle, shape and expression of the eyes, outline of the mouth and configuration of the face³⁴. This type of votive head is found in a votive deposit at Cales, probably from a related matrix³⁵; from the same deposit another example of the type shows different hairstyle³⁶. At Cales this type of head is found also in the male version with hairstyle in the fashion of the young Alexander³⁷. One head of this type from Capua, but believed not to be of Capuan origin, also shows slightly different hairstyle³⁸. An almost identical example of unknown provenance is in the Hermitage Museum collection³⁹. One unpublished head of this type is in the Leiden Museum said to be from Calabria⁴⁰. One head of this type is in the Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto⁴¹. In a Swiss private collection is an unveiled head of the same type and similar size.

³³ Willeumier 1939, p.428, pl.XXXIX, nos.5-6; Laviosa 1954, pl.LXXIII, fig.5; Higgins 1959, p.183, no.1330, p.184, nos.1311-1334, p.190, nos.1361-1362, p.191, no.1363, p.192, no.1366.

³⁴ H.16cm.: Herdejürgen 1971, inv.no.1928.48, pl.16, no.47.

³⁵ Blázquez 1968-69, fig.5.

³⁶ Blázquez 1968-69, fig.7.

³⁷ Blázquez 1963, p.33, fig.19.

³⁸ Bonghi Jovino 1965, pl.LXXIII, no.2707.

³⁹ *Hermitage Museum Catalogue* 1972, fig.181.

⁴⁰ H.24cm; inv.no.14.1887, blz.38-81.

⁴¹ Inv.no.unknown, on display.

The head, erroneously published as funerary and dated to the 4th century B.C., is claimed to be from South Italy⁴². An identical head of similar size is in a German private collection⁴³. One head of the same type was auctioned in Zurich in 1986⁴⁴. The head, said in the catalogue to be Campanian, presents a reduced veil and no long, side ringlets but a series of short ringlets around the face as on one heads of this type from Cales.

FEMALE VEILED HEAD and shoulder: BM.1982.9-29.6

F4b

No record card.

SIZE

H.17cm; width of base 15cm; chin to forehead 8.3cm; external eye corners 4.3cm; mouth 1.5cm.

CLAY

Deep orange colour, poor clay in bad state of preservation covered in white slip, inclusions little visible, some black volcanic, red /brown pozzolana, white shell inclusions, some quartz crystals.

ANATOMY

Female veiled head, from an exhausted matrix. The small head is slightly tilted towards the left, the long oval face has high cheek-bones and a prominent round chin. The forehead is wide, the eyes are large and oblong, the eyebrows try to converge above the bridge of the long nose (damaged) giving to the face an expression of pathos accentuated by the parted lips of the small mouth. From the ears hang a pair of earrings of a type not clearly recognisable but large in size; on the neck is a heavy torques necklace, from which a large circular element, presumably a bulla, is attached, unfortunately badly

⁴² H.28cm.: Dörig 1975, no.274.

⁴³ H.28.6cm.: Neugebauer 1938, p.30, pl.44 no.105.

⁴⁴ H.23.2cm; dated in the catalogue to the end of the 4th century: no.37 in 'Fortuna. Galerie für alte Kunst'. Catalogue 9. Zurich 1986.

damaged. The shoulders are cut-off to form a base. The veil frames the head and shoulder and on the flattened back is a vent hole c.15mm.

HAIRSTYLE

The hair, parted in the middle, falls freely on the shoulders in waves and ringlets leaving part of the ears uncovered. Two long snaky strands of hair are emphasized on the sides of the veil as on F4a.

PARALLELS

The type of this head shows some affinities, in the pathetic expression of the face, the slight frowning of the eyebrows, the tilting of the head, the shape of the mouth with parted lips, with a type found at Veii and dated by Comella, probably too conservatively, to the 2nd century B.C.⁴⁵. On this head the hairstyle would suggest a date in the late 4th, early 3rd centuries B.C., but the type of bullae necklace indicates a later date in the 3rd-2nd centuries B.C.

FEMALE VEILED HEAD: BM.1974.8-12.9

F4c

Found unregistered

SIZE

H.25.8cm; base chin-forehead 13cm; external eye corners 6.8cm; mouth 2.8cm.

CLAY

Fine clay pale-creamy, slightly pink, colour, surface smooth to the touch; very few visible inclusions on the surface, a little black volcanic and red pozzolana.

ANATOMY

Female veiled head of good manufacture. The head is slightly tilted forward, the face is round with full cheeks, the forehead is high and wide. The eyes are slightly gazing downwards (as if the head was meant to be seen from a higher

⁴⁵ Vagnetti 1971, pl.XIX, B III; Comella 1981, p.786 fig.24 type BLX; Riis 1981, Veio type 23K, p.45.

position than that of the viewer), the eyebrows are pronounced and arched, the eyes are large, almond-shaped and rendered in detail with pupil and iris in relief rather than simply incised as on other heads. The nose is long and straight, pointed at the tip, the shapely mouth is small with full, slightly pouting lips. Between the lower lip and the round chin is a dimple. The ears are covered but below the hair are pendent earrings formed by a floral rosette and a drop. Around the neck are two necklaces, one a simple, narrow band, the other formed by bead-like elements. The neck, on which is a slight "Venus necklace", turns out flat at the base to form a sort of pedestal. The veil is very round and wide at the back and over the top of the head.

HAIRSTYLE

The hair, parted in the middle, falls at either side of the face in one row of twisted locks at the front and two rows of almost circular curls. At the top of the head the hair arrangement is held by a hair-net decorated by bead-like elements along the top of the head, painted and visible as dark dots, approximately ten in number.

PARALLELS

On this head, the modelling of the face reveals stylistic dependence from terracotta sculpture of Tarentum⁴⁶. Stylistically this type has its origin in Apulia, from where is transmitted to central Italy, with various modifications to suit local taste, and where it enjoys a considerable popularity. The Apulian origin of type F4c, in spite of its popularity in Etruria and Latium, is suggested by a number of factors. Firstly the presence of the type at the large and important Apulian deposit of Lucera, a site that almost certainly manufactured its own types. Secondly by the presence of Tarentine style earrings⁴⁷, replaced in Etruria by local types⁴⁸. Lastly by the obvious stylistic dependence from Tarentine antefixes showing the affinity with the Greek models in the confident,

⁴⁶ Belli 1970, pp.107, 112, two terracotta antefixes very similar in modelling and type; De Juliis-Loiacono 1985, p.122, nos.104-106.

⁴⁷ Chapter 7.

⁴⁸ The heads of this type in Etruria, unlike this example, frequently display horseshoe earrings of purely Etruscan style.

but at the same time delicate and sensitive, modelling of the object⁴⁹. The manner in which the veil backdrop and base-pedestal of this head are shaped, also suggest the manner of the Tarentine antefixes.

The type of this head is found in Apulia at the deposit in Lucera⁵⁰. One of the Apulian examples also wears a pair of long pendent earrings emerging from the lower part of the twisted locks, as on F4c. One head of comparable size from Lavinium, dated to the end of the 4th century B.C., show stringent affinities with type F4c, but is somewhat inferior in quality, with more linear hair strands and elongated face⁵¹. One head of this type and similar size comes from the environs of Rome, found at the "Tenuta della Buffalotta", showing virtually identical hair rendering and comparable, only coarser, features⁵². Modified examples related to the type of F4c, with slight alterations particularly in the eyes, less expressive and more droopy at the corners and a vaguely pathetic demeanour, are known from deposits in Etruria and Latium: from the deposits of Comunità and Campetti in Veii⁵³ and Lavinium⁵⁴. Two heads of this type are in the Danish National Museum, of unknown provenance, reported by Riis as Caeretan type 21A⁵⁵, one is in the Louvre with similar earrings⁵⁶ and one with shoulders is in Florence⁵⁷. The hair rendering at the sides on this particular head

⁴⁹ Laviosa 1954, pls.LXXIII, figs.3-6, pp.239-240; Bartoloni 1970, p.260; Bonghi Jovino 1976, pp.28-31; Bonghi Jovino 1990, p.134, pl.XVI, no.2.

⁵⁰ The size on some examples from Lucera is comparable, varying from H.23cm to H.32.6cm, one very similar example is H.26cm: Bartoccini 1940, p.204, fig.16; Rossi 1980, pp.75-77, type CM6, pl.XXIV, 1-2.

⁵¹ *Enea nel Lazio*, p.253, D 237.

⁵² Quilici Gigli 1981, p.81, fig.2.

⁵³ Vagnetti 1971, pl.XIX BII, p.48; Vagnetti-Stefani 1990, pl.7a A2VII; in the Museo Nazionale Romano are twenty-two examples: inv.nos.38312, 47168.

⁵⁴ *La Regina in Lavinium* 1975, p.201, fig.263.

⁵⁵ Breitestain 1941, pl.101, nos.799 and 800; Riis 1981, p.28.

⁵⁶ Inv.no.S 5727.

⁵⁷ Apparently from the same matrix as the examples from Veii. H.26.5cm: Bartoloni 1970, pp. 259-260, pl.XIXc.

with two rows of almost circular curls instead of the long twisted locks, is clearly introducing the hairstyle of F4fI.

FEMALE HEAD FROM STATUE: BM.1839.2-14.31 ⁵⁸

F4dI

Campanari Collection

SIZE

H.29.5cm; base chin to forehead 16cm; external eye corners 8cm; mouth 3.6cm; tip of nose to external eye corner 6.2cm; max. width 16.5cm; internal eye corners to earlobe 9cm.

CLAY

Internally pale creamy in colour, external colouring under the white wash deep orange-red; the change in the colour due to uneven firing temperature. Many inclusions visible on the surface, ill sorted and fine to coarse in size, mostly black volcanic particles, mica, red pozzolana, quartz crystals, some white shelly particles.

ANATOMY

Fine female head and part of shoulder from a statue, probably a full dressed figure with gentle but strong features. The face is oval and elongated in shape with full but flat cheeks, the forehead is high and spacious, the chin is round and prominent, slightly slanting in profile, with a large dimple in the middle. The eyebrows are little pronounced, arched and closed to the eyes which are very wide and globular-shaped with sharp outer corners slightly downturned. The upper eyelids are heavy and deeply incised, the lower eyelids, also deeply incised, are underlined by distinct swellings. The damaged nose is long and straight with pointed tip and pinched nostrils. The large, shapely mouth has full, parted lips just curling downwards at the corners; the teeth are visible behind the lips. The ears, from which a pair of pendent earrings hang, are partly covered by the hair. One earring survives nearly complete on the left ear,

⁵⁸ Turfa 1986, no.11.

consisting of two ring-loops, the bottom one having a drop-pendent in the centre. The neck is long and strong particularly at the juncture with the shoulder, around which is still visible the top part of a garment, indicated by the shape of a fold. On the back of the shoulder more of the garment survives as a number of folds. Part of a necklace survives, made of a chain (surviving on the left side) of herring bone design 0.6cm wide. The chain was applied separately to the body of the statue and on the right shoulder is visible the scar left by it. Part of a pendent survives just above the break of the body of half moon shape with a pin-like element in the middle of it.

HAIRSTYLE

The *Schläfenlocke* hairstyle on this head is elaborate and rich in details. The hair is parted in the middle, swept at the sides of the face to form three 'corkscrew' locks covering most of the ears and framing the oval of the face. The remaining of the hair is divided into ten wide braids rendered with an incised herring bone pattern. The braids, from the right side of the head, are turned around the back, going over the four braids on the left side, and over the top of the head.

PARALLELS

The type of this head has been dated to the 4th early 3rd centuries B.C. by Comella⁵⁹, and by Hafner to the 4th century B.C.⁶⁰ Of similar date is the comparable group of votive statues from Lavinium⁶¹. One the statue from Lavinium, of comparable features but with different hairstyle, displays a similar herringbone chain around the neck as on F4dI⁶². In the MGE is a group of Caeretan heads stylistically close to the type of F4dI⁶³. Numerous heads of types related, in differing degree, to F4dI are recorded. One veiled example

⁵⁹ Type BIII: Comella 1981, pp.782-783, fig.18.

⁶⁰ Hafner 1965, p.52, pl.19, no.2.

⁶¹ *Enea nel Lazio*, p.235, D 217; *La Regina in Lavinium*, p.209, fig.279.

⁶² Inv.no.P77.33: *Enea nel Lazio*, p.240, D 224.

⁶³ Inv.nos.1304, 1305, 1307, 1324, 1341, 1359. Hafner 1965, pp.51-53, pls.18-19; Vessberg 1941, pl.XCIII, no.1.

comes from Bomarzo, in Latium⁶⁴; one fragmentary example from S.Giuliano, is now in Viterbo⁶⁵; several veiled examples were retrieved at Anagni, in Latium⁶⁶; four veiled examples from Lavinium⁶⁷; and five veiled examples from Carsoli⁶⁸.

FEMALE HALF HEAD: BM.1954.9-14.1

F4dII

On display in the British Museum

SIZE and CLAY

Not available as object is on display.

ANATOMY and HAIRSTYLE

Right side profile of female head. Full round face, high forehead forming a straight line with the long, pointed nose, large eye, small mouth with full lips, small slanting chin. The one large ear emerges from behind the twisted corkscrew locks, in the same fashion as F2i. At the earlobe is attached a twisted-loop earring possibly with a lion's head terminal. The long slender neck is turned out into a base-ring. The hairstyle is that of F4dI. The frontal view of this type of head is F4c.

A corresponding left profile of this type, from Caere ex-Vatican collection now in Pavia, is analogous in size and details including the earring⁶⁹. One example of this type, also profile, is in the Louvre⁷⁰. The type of this head is discussed by

⁶⁴ Baglioni 1976, p.165, pl.CIII, B2.

⁶⁵ Emiliozzi 1974, p.85, pl.XLI, no.18.

⁶⁶ In the *Pontificio Collegio Leoniano*: Mazzolani 1969, p.106, fig.147, a.

⁶⁷ La Regina in *Lavinium* 1975, pp.202-203, C 29-31, figs.270-272; Villa Giulia Museum, inv.no.42187.

⁶⁸ Marinucci 1976, pp.81-82, pls.31-32, K VIII.

⁶⁹ Invernizzi-Tomaselli-Zezza 1983, pp.20-21, T3.

⁷⁰ Inv.no.CP 244.

Hafner for the a series of related examples in the MGE at the Vatican, displaying the same hairstyle⁷¹ and the same type of earrings with zoomorphic terminals dated to the end 4th, early 3rd centuries B.C.⁷²

FEMALE HALF HEAD VEILED: BM.1814.7-4.862 ⁷³

F4e

Second Townley Collection

SIZE

H.25cm; base chin to forehead 13.5cm; nose 5cm; max. width nose to back 15.5cm.

CLAY

Pink-orange colour, many inclusions visible on the surface, ill sorted and angular, medium in size, mostly black volcanic crystals, quartz crystals and some mica.

ANATOMY

Right profile of female veiled head; the matrix is very worn and the outcome is of poor quality. The flat underside presents a vent hole 3cm. in diameter. The face is long with heavy flat cheeks, the line of the nose and that of the high forehead form a continuous line, the slanting chin is close to the lower lip. The nose is long and straight (damaged at the tip), the eyebrow is heavy and low, the eye is almond shaped and heavy lidded. The lips are small and tightly fasten, turning slightly downwards at the corner. The veil stands out above the head, leaving the hair at the front uncovered, the ears are completely covered by the hair. The neck turns out into a ring-base; the joint between the two mould is clearly visible at the base of the veil and all along to the base of the neck.

⁷¹ Hafner 1965, p.52, pl.19, nos.1-4; also Steingraber 1980, pl.71, no.3.

⁷² Becatti 1955, pl.97, nos.375-376.

⁷³ Turfa 1986, no.10.

HAIRSTYLE

The hair is parted in the middle with long braids curled around the top of the head and held by a hair-net. At the side of the face a series of long coiled braids covers the ears and disappears under the veil.

PARALLELS

This head is the profile version of a common type, derived from F4c. This type seems to be popular in Etruria and Latium, particularly in Rome where it may have originated⁷⁴. This type of head is dated by Comella to the end 4th and 3rd centuries B.C.⁷⁵ and by Ciaghi to the late 4th century B.C.⁷⁶ One example of the type is in the Cerveteri Museum, similar in clay, size and quality of execution suggesting a very closely related matrix. In Rome examples of this type come from the deposits at the "Tenuta della Bufalotta"⁷⁷, Minerva Medica⁷⁸ and from the Tiber⁷⁹. In Latium are found at Lavinium⁸⁰, Veii⁸¹, Tarquinia⁸², Sora⁸³, Bomarzo⁸⁴ and one at Anagni, maybe from a statue⁸⁵. From Veii Campetti is a

⁷⁴ Ciaghi in Bonghi Jovino 1990, pp.138-139.

⁷⁵ Type BIV: Comella 1981, p.783, fig.19 BIV.

⁷⁶ Ciaghi in Bonghi Jovino 1990, p.138.

⁷⁷ Quilici Gigli 1981, fig.2; now in the Museo Nazionale Romano, inv.no.108527.

⁷⁸ Gatti Lo Guzzo 1978, p.88, pl.XXXIV GII.

⁷⁹ Pensabene 1980, pl.75, no.472, pl.78, no.479.

⁸⁰ Thomasson 1961, pl.V, no.24; La Regina in *Lavinium* 1975, p.205, fig.274, C34; fig.275, C35.

⁸¹ Pensabene 1980, pl.118, no.2.

⁸² An inferior example: Comella 1982, pp.86-87, pl.52, B2 XXXVIII.

⁸³ Rizzello 1980, p.85, no.5, figs.314-315.

⁸⁴ Baglione 1976, pp.164-165, BI, pl.CIII.

⁸⁵ Mazzolani 1969, pp.105-106, fig.142.

degenerate translation of the type⁸⁶, also at Veii Porta Caere⁸⁷ and at Veii Piazza d'Armi⁸⁸. From Campania only two heads of this type have been found at Cales⁸⁹.

This type of head is present in numerous Museum collections: unpublished examples of this type are in the MGE; one is in the Antiquarium in Rome⁹⁰; two half heads, one very close to F4e, are in Boston⁹¹; one head of unknown provenance is in Florence⁹²; three examples of the type are in the Museo Civico in Treviso⁹³ and one unpublished half head, also very close to F4e, said to be from Etruria is in Leiden Museum⁹⁴.

FEMALE VEILED HEAD: BM.1982.9-29.3

F4fI

no record card

SIZE

H.24cm; max. width across face 22.6cm; chin to forehead 13cm; external eye corners 6.7cm, nose 4.4cm; mouth 3.2cm.

CLAY

Orange/pink colour, numerous inclusions visible on the surface, small in size, mostly mica, small black crystals and little quartz crystals. Very heavy head

⁸⁶ Vagnetti 1971, p.50, pl.XIX, BIV; Comella-Stefani 1990, pl.7, A2 VIII.

⁸⁷ Torelli-Pohl 1973, p.230, Ab 1, fig.105.

⁸⁸ Mentioned by Vagnetti; Vagnetti 1971, p.50.

⁸⁹ Blazquez 1961, pp.34-36, nos. XVIII, XX, figs.18, 20.

⁹⁰ Inv.no.2567, H.31.5: *Roma Medio repubblicana*, no.226.

⁹¹ H.24.7cm: Phillips 1965, pls.CXXVII-III a/b; CXXXIII.

⁹² Bartoloni 1970, pp.261-262, pl.XIX d.

⁹³ Borda 1976, pp.176-178, nos.191-193.

⁹⁴ H.25.5cm: inv.no.K1960 10.1.

with thick walls, covered in white slip, some traces of yellow pigment survive present on the hair.

ANATOMY

Female veiled head, the matrix is very worn and the outcome is of poor quality. The face is oval and full with wide, semicircular forehead, high flat cheek-bones and rounded, strong chin. The droopy eyes are almond-shaped with the sharp external corners turning distinctly downwards. The eyes are prominent with very defined, protruding eyelids and bulbous pupils incised with circle-and-dot; the arched eyebrows are heavy and close to the eyelids. The nose, narrow and straight in profile, is damaged at the tip, the mouth is small, the lips, also damaged, are full and slightly parted. The neck turns out in a suggestion of shoulders which serves also as a base. The veil, rounded and full at the back, stands out around the head c.20-25mm like a frame in the fashion of an antefix.

HAIRSTYLE

Full and voluminous hairstyle formed by three rows of small, neatly arranged and tight circular curls, parted in the middle and falling at the sides of the face covering the ears. From the mass of hair a pair of indistinct horseshoe type earrings emerge.

PARALLELS

The type F4f is popular in Latium and Campania, originating from the group with *Schläfenlocke*, but with little trace of the original hairstyle, as the circular curls prevail. F4f is derived from the type of F4e, but almost circular side curls can be seen already on F4c. This type is dated by Comella to the late 4th-3rd centuries B.C.⁹⁵ An interpretation of the development of this type is given by Ciaghi⁹⁶. Related and pre-dating the full development of this type are two heads from Latium, both wearing very conspicuous horseshoe type earrings, a

⁹⁵ Type BVI: Comella 1981, p.784, fig.21.

⁹⁶ Ciaghi in Bonghi Jovino 1990, p.140, pls.XVI-XVII: who traces the origins back to, on one side, a type of 4th century B.C. antefixes from Falerii modelled on Tarentine examples, and on the other and more directly from the Rome-Lavinium type of BM.1814.7-4.862 of late 4th century B.C. date.

common attribute on these heads⁹⁷. One head from Ariccia, is directly derived from the type of F4e, but the features, particularly the droopy, heavy rimmed eyes and the outline of the lips are closer to type of F4f⁹⁸. The other head from Tarquinia shows heavier features and an hairstyle that clearly introduces the circular curls⁹⁹. The same hairstyle is found on a head in the Antiquarium Comunale in Rome, dated to the 3rd century B.C.¹⁰⁰. In Latium several examples of type F4f were retrieved at Lavinium, dated between 320 and 250 B.C.¹⁰¹, Ariccia¹⁰², Anagni¹⁰³. Two examples of type F4f are in the Villa Giulia Museum in Rome, one in the Collezione Castellani¹⁰⁴ and one very similar in size and details to F4fl, from Ardea¹⁰⁵. In the Museo Nazionale Romano are three heads and three half heads of type F4f possibly from Civitacastellana¹⁰⁶ and one example from Falerii¹⁰⁷. One fragmentary head of type F4f is in the Collezione Antinelli in Ronciglione¹⁰⁸. From Campania several examples come from Cales¹⁰⁹; one example in Capua comes probably from Cales¹¹⁰; one half

⁹⁷ Ciaghi in Bonghi Jovino 1990, p.140.

⁹⁸ Roghi 1979, pl.XLVIII, fig.3; Ciaghi in Bonghi Jovino 1990, p.140.

⁹⁹ Stefani 1984, pl.IV, C 10.

¹⁰⁰ Inv.no.2591: *Roma medio Repubblicana*, pl.XXXVII, no.228.

¹⁰¹ La Regina in *Lavinium* 1975, pp.207-208, 250, nos.C 36-41, figs.276-278; *Enea nel Lazio*, p.258, nos.D 246, 247, 248.

¹⁰² Roghi 1979, p.227, pl.XLIX, no.1.

¹⁰³ Mazzolani 1969, p.110, fig.148.

¹⁰⁴ Inv.no.52211.

¹⁰⁵ Inv.no.25249, H.26.5cm, chin to forehead 13.4cm, external eye corners 6.9cm: Melis F. Quilici Gigli 1982-83, p.8, pl.II.

¹⁰⁶ Inv.nos.115309: 1-3; nv.nos. 115347: 1-3.

¹⁰⁷ Inv.115309.

¹⁰⁸ Guzzo 1971, p.249, pl.LXVI, no.4.

¹⁰⁹ Blazquez 1961, p.33, fig.15; Johannowsky 1963, p.264, fig.14; Ciaghi in Bonghi Jovino 1990, pl.XVII no.8, 'Cales V', p.140.

¹¹⁰ Bonghi Jovino 1965, pp.143-144, no.2437. Bonghi Jovino also mentions other examples from Cales now in Berlin (Ist.Archeol.Germ. neg.3746).

head is in the Antiquarium in Calvi Risorta¹¹¹. One example of unknown provenance is in Palermo¹¹². Three unpublished heads of type F4f from southern Italy are in the Leiden Museum¹¹³.

FEMALE VEILED HEAD: BM.1843.5-7.327

F4fII

Belmore Collection

SIZE

H.14.8cm; base of chin to forehead 7.5cm; external eye corners 3.7cm; mouth 1.6cm; tip of nose to external eye corner 3.2cm; width of base 9.5cm.

CLAY

Creamy-orange colour, surface rough to the touch, numerous inclusions visible, ill sorted, fine to coarse in size, mostly black volcanic crystals, mica, some quartz crystals, little red/brown pozzolana, some white shelly particles. Traces of white slip coating survives on the surface.

ANATOMY

Small veiled female head with narrow oval face, wide forehead, rounded chin and flat cheeks. The eyes are large and almond-shaped with external corners slightly up-turned and marked eyebrows. The nose is long with wide nostrils (partly damaged), the mouth is small with full lips, curled at the corners in a faint smile. The wide neck flares at the base, the veil, damaged at the front, leaves most of the hair uncovered forming a frame round the head (11mm high) is broken off at the back. This head is from an exhausted matrix.

HAIRSTYLE

¹¹¹ Inv.no.7.

¹¹² Inv.no.782: Greco 1966, p.12, fig.19.

¹¹³ One said to be from San Giorgio in Calabria: H.25cm; inv.no.G.N.V.79; the other two are unprovenanced: H.29cm, inv.no.RG 6 and H.24.5cm, inv.no.RG 6.

The hair, parted in the middle, falls to the sides of the face covering the ears in parallel rows of small curls, which, due to the poor quality of the matrix, are not rendered in great detail.

This head is clearly recognizable as a poor derivative of F4fI, with tight circular curls hairstyle. F4fII shows affinities with a head in the Danish National Museum of uncertain provenance¹¹⁴.

FEMALE VEILED HEAD from STATUE: BM.1859.2-16.10

F4g

Bequeathed by Miss Audjo

SIZE

H.31cm; base of chin to forehead 16cm; external eye corners 9cm; mouth 3.7cm.

CLAY

Orange-terracotta colour surface, grey core, many inclusions visible fine to coarse in size, mostly black volcanic, red pozzolana, mica and quartz crystals. Heavy in weight.

ANATOMY

Large veiled female head from a statue. Long oval-shaped face, wide and high forehead partly covered by the hair, the chin is round and prominent, pointed in profile, the cheeks are low and flat. The eyebrows are long, linear and straight, the eyes are wide and almond-shaped with slightly downturning corners. The pupils are defined with incised circle and dot, the eyelids, upper and lower, are well-evidenced and underlined by a sharp tool. The damaged nose is long, straight and narrow with fleshy nostrils; the shapely mouth with full lips is slightly parted and pouting in profile. The ears are entirely covered by the hair but earrings were present, as attested by the scar left in their place. The neck is long and broad, around it is a necklace made of segments or beads; below this

¹¹⁴ Stated to have marked on it: "Palestrina 1876": Breitenstain 1941, pl.99, no.792.

necklace is visible what could be a torques-like necklace, only a small part of which survives as the statue is broken just above the shoulders. The veil stands up around the head like a frame (c.20mm), and curves out at shoulder level, the back of the head is rounded and presents a vent-hole c.47mm in diameter.

HAIRSTYLE

The hair, parted in the middle, is arranged over the forehead rather rigidly. The hair-strands fall straight at the sides of the face to shoulder level covering the ears. The strands are rendered by deep, linear incisions in the clay. The rigid wig-like appearance of the hair is in contrasts with the gentle rendering of the face. Above the middle parting on the top of the head is a band, possibly intended to represent a diadem, decorated with an incised criss-cross pattern.

PARALLELS

The type of F4g probably originates in Cales, where examples of individual heads with different hairstyle have been found¹¹⁵. F4g shows affinities with the type of a statue from Lavinium, dated to the middle of the 4th century B.C., of which F4g seems to be a 'simplified' version¹¹⁶. They share size, the shape of the face and features, the long neck and the head-band; the two heads also display a similar curvature of the veil at shoulder level.

FEMALE VEILED HEAD: BM.1950.1-4.7

F4h

Given by L.J.E.Hooper

SIZE

H.43cm; base of chin to forehead 18.5cm; external eye corners 9cm; mouth 4cm.

¹¹⁵ Ciaghi in Bonghi Jovino 1990, p.81, pl.IV.

¹¹⁶ *Enea nel Lazio*, p.239, D 221; p.252, D 234; p.252, D 235 and D 236; p.254, D 239.

CLAY

Pink-orange colour, numerous inclusions visible, several large lumps, mostly black volcanic particles, quartz crystals and mica.

ANATOMY

Very large, heavy and coarsely made, female veiled head. The face is broad and long with a strong chin almost square-shaped and flat cheeks, the forehead is wide and high. The closely set eyes are small and narrow compared to the rest of the features, the brows are arched, deep and pronounced. The nose is long and fleshy forming a continuous line with the forehead, the mouth is small with full lips. The neck, long and sturdy, turns out at the front to form a pedestal, the narrow (c.25mm) rigid veil frames the head and neck. The back is completely flat with a vent hole 50mm in diameter.

HAIRSTYLE

The hair, parted in the middle, falls at the sides of the face in series of rigid twisted locks covering the ears. At the top of the head is a coil of hair, mostly hidden by the veil, held by a hair-net.

PARALLELS

F4h is also a Cales type; at Cales several examples of this type have been retrieved¹¹⁷. F4h is derived from the Caeretan type F4d. Two heads in the Danish National Museum are related to F4h¹¹⁸. One unpublished head of this type is in the Leiden Museum¹¹⁹. One head of this type comes from Carsoli¹²⁰ and one unpublished example from Praeneste is in the Villa Giulia Museum.

¹¹⁷ One very close example in the Museo Nazionale, Naples: Ciaghi in Bonghi Jovino 1990, p. 89, pl.VI, fig.1; three heads in the Museo Archaeologico Nacional de Madrid from Cales: Blazquez 1961, pl.VII, fig.9; pl.VIII, fig.11; pl.XIII, fig.18. Two of the heads in Madrid correspond to Ciaghi's type VI: Ciaghi in Bonghi Jovino 1990, pl.XVII no.12.

¹¹⁸ Breitestein 1941, pl.101, nos.801-802: very close to an example of this type in Madrid: Blazquez 1961, pl.VII, fig.9, corresponding to Ciaghi's type IV: Ciaghi in Bonghi Jovino 1990, pl.XVII, no.12.

¹¹⁹ Inv.no.14-1887, blz.37-81, said to be from San Giorgio in Calabria, H.22cm.

Bequeathed by Miss Auldjo

SIZE

H.35cm; base of chin to forehead 16.5cm; external eye corners 11.7cm; mouth 3.6cm; width of base 19.5cm.

CLAY

Pink-orange colour, many inclusions visible, fine to coarse in size, mostly black volcanic particles, quartz crystals and mica Possible traces of red pigment on face and hair.

ANATOMY

Large female head, heavy and coarsely made. The face is long and oval in shape with low forehead, flat, wide cheeks, the chin, damaged, is round, strong and prominent. The eyebrows are wide, prominent and arched, the very large eyes have a fixed expression accentuated by the "emptiness" of the large pupils. The external corners of the eyes are sharply marked, the eyelids are heavy and prominent. The damaged nose is long, the mouth, also damaged, is small and tightly closed. The neck is rendered as a flat surface, the back is flattened and presents a vent-hole 4.6cmx3.2cm. The veil stands up c.3.5cm around the head and neck joining the base which at the front forms a sort of pedestal.

HAIRSTYLE

The hair, parted in the middle, falls at the sides of the face in three rigid coils or braids covering the ears. The twist in the locks is rendered by deep diagonal incisions in the clay with a sharp tool. In the middle of the forehead is a short triangular fringe, also parting at the sides. On top of the head is a sort of hair-net or a diadem very crudely and simply defined by three thumb impressions in the clay.

¹²⁰ Cederna 1953, pl.XCVIII, nos.3-4.

PARALLELS

F4i is also a type of Colean origin; an almost identical example, from a closely related matrix is in the Museo Archaológico Nacional de Madrid, from Calés¹²¹.

FEMALE HEAD: BM.1839.2-14.34

F4j

Campanari Collection

SIZE

H.23.7cm; base chin to forehead 15.7cm; external eye corners 8.3cm; mouth 2.8cm; nose to external eye corner 6.8cm; internal eye corner to lobe 7.2cm.

CLAY

Pale creamy colour, powdery clay, smooth surface, not many inclusions visible, small in size, mostly black volcanic crystals and quartz crystals.

ANATOMY

Female head, with long and narrow oval face and forlorn expression imparted by a worn matrix. The head is slightly tilted to the left, the forehead is high but narrow, the chin is round and prominent with a small dimple and the cheeks are high and pronounced. The long straight nose, with strong brow-nose line, is quite round and fleshy at the tip but the nostrils are not pronounced. The large oblong eyes are not evidenced, particularly the lower eyelids, the mouth is very small with full parted lips. The ears are fairly large but poorly defined and are possibly part of the front mould. The neck is broken off and the entire head is heavily restored. The features of this head are bland and worn out probably due to a very exhausted matrix, but a good prototype is suggested by the complex hairstyle. From the ears hang a pair of earrings only partly preserved (the right

¹²¹ Inv.no.4.155, H.25cm: Blasquez 1961, pp.25-42, pl.VIII, fig.10.

one is more complete), of a simple twisted loop type which may have had a zoomorphic terminal, possibly a lion's head.

HAIRSTYLE

The hair is arranged in an elaborate hairstyle very similar to that of F4d, parted in the middle at the front, and pulled fairly tightly towards the back. From the crown of the head the hair is divided in four braids which are turned around the back of the head. The details of the braids, indicated by incisions in the clay with a sharp, pointed tool, are poorly rendered. At the back the hair is again divided in four braids falling vertically down the neck to shoulder level, which are partly covered by the mass of braids turning around the head. These four braids fall gently as ringlets on the neck. The details are obtained in the same fashion as before. A twisted lock of hair falls at the sides of the face and behind the ears to neck level. In front of the ears is one small single ringlet of hair.

PARALLELS

A close parallel for F4j is in the MGE, from Caere, clearly the same type and a better example; it shows similar expression with slightly open mouth and tilted head, but different earring style¹²². Another head in the MGE shows similarities in expression and features and comparable hairstyle¹²³. This type of hairstyle is present on a number of heads in the MGE collection, particularly comparable to F4j on two examples, one of which also displays the same type of lion-head earrings¹²⁴. The hairstyle on F4j is clearly a later development from the version on F4d, originating in the 5th century and lasting until the late 4th-early 3rd centuries B.C., as substantiated by the presence of the earring style typical of that date later¹²⁵.

FEMALE HEAD: BM.1839.2-14.27

F4k

¹²² Inv.no. 13957; Vessberg 1941, pl.XCII, no.34.

¹²³ Inv.no.13999; Hafner 1965, pl.20, no.4; pl.21, no.1.

¹²⁴ Inv.nos. 13880 and 13941: Hafner 1965, pl.20, nos.3,4.

¹²⁵ Hafner 1965, pp.53-53; Becatti 1955, pl.CXII, no.418 a,b; Chapter 7.

Campanari Collection

SIZE

H.28.7cm; base chin to forehead 15.2cm; external eye corners 8.3cm; internal eye corner to ear lobe 8.6cm; mouth 3.7cm.

CLAY

Light creamy-yellow colour, fairly smooth to the touch, numerous inclusions visible, very fine to medium in size, mostly black volcanic crystals, red-brown-orange pozzolana, some quartz crystals. Traces of red pigment surviving on the surface.

ANATOMY

Female head with long, narrow face and delicate features, high cheek bones and wide forehead; the chin is rounded and presents a small manufacture fault on the underside. The face shows an intense, concentrated expression, the head is slightly turned to the left and tilted forward, with the eyes gazing downward, giving the impression of wanting to be seen from a lower position. The eyes are large and oblong slightly deep-set with pupil and iris rendered by incisions and dot but the narrow eye-lids are poorly defined. The brow-nose line is continuous, the nose is long and narrow with a wide bridge and fleshy nostrils, turning up slightly at the tip. The mouth, fairly large with fuller lower lip, is slightly parted. The ears are not rendered in detail. The long narrow neck flares out slightly to form the base.

HAIRSTYLE

The hair is parted in the middle with undulating locks swept away from the face and combed loosely to the sides falling on the neck and behind the ears leaving them mostly uncovered. A twisted, corkscrew-shaped lock of hair falls at each side of the neck behind the ears. At the back and side of the head the hair falls, fairly straight, to the base of the neck. The hair is modelled in detail up to the top of the head including the back, worked in the round but the hair is indicated simply by shallow incisions in the clay. At the back of the head is a roundel, a kind of small hair- bun made by an applied ring of clay. Traces of red pigment are present on the hair

PARALLELS

In the MGE are a number of heads related to F4k but not identical¹²⁶. They share the same hairstyle and rendering of the back of the head with the roundel, and comparable facial type. One head in the MGE shows a different hair style but the same facial type¹²⁷. F4k and F4j possibly share the prototype. Their relationship is best illustrated by the sequence of heads in the MGE, related to both. Unusual is the roundel at the back of the heads which Kaschnitz von Weinberg explains as: " ... il prolungamento conico a mo' di fagotto dietro l'occipite che probabilmente avrà servito per fissare il busto ad una parete.", justifying its existence as a practical device for the suspension of the object to the wall¹²⁸. However, for that purposes, a simple hole at the back of the head is a more common and practical device than a roundel; the heads suspended on walls had, generally, flatter backs; the heads from this group are all invariably modelled in the round and the backs have some detail. Suspension would have been awkward as most of the roundels are not deep enough to allow for safe suspension. The roundel is present only on a few heads, all of a similar type and similar hairstyle, probably associated to the same prototype. It is possible that this group of heads, may be the product of a single workshop, and that the craftsman involved may have used the clay roundel as his own peculiar marking device.

FEMALE HEAD BM.1839.2-14.33

F41

Campanari Collection

SIZE

H.25cm; base chin to forehead 14.5cm; external eye corners 7.5cm; mouth 3.3cm; internal eye corner to earlobe 9cm.

¹²⁶ Inv.nos. 13941, 13909, 13928, 13927, 13940.

¹²⁷ Inv.no.13999: Hafner 1965, pl.20, no.4, pl.21, no.1.

¹²⁸ Kaschnitz-Weinberg 1925, p.347.

CLAY

Dull, pale creamy colour, external surface dark possibly due to dirt and decayed pigment. Numerous inclusions visible, small in size, mostly black volcanic particles, quartz crystals and red pozzolana.

ANATOMY

Female head modelled in the round but flattened at the back. The face is round-shaped, full and wide across the middle, fairly low ogival forehead, the chin is round and full with a small dimple in the middle, the cheeks are broad and fleshy. The eyes are small and rounded, close to the bridge of the nose with sharply defined upper and lower lids, the brow-nose line is pronounced. The nose is long and straight with pointed tip and fleshy, pinched nostrils. The mouth is small, placed close to the nose with full lower lip, slightly curling up at the corners in a suggestion of smile. The neck is broken but probably flared out at the base. The ears, part of the front mould, are quite large and slightly projecting to the sides. From the ears hang a pair of earrings of a type with round stud and pyramidal-shaped pendent. The face was probably painted red as traces of pigment survive.

HAIRSTYLE

The hair, parted in the middle, is swept back behind the ears in wavy bands and falls in ringlets down the neck to shoulder level. At the top of the head is a kind of ridge produced by the join of the back and front mould, which, on this example, has not been smoothed out completely or covered up by some decorative element. From this point the back of the head is poorly defined without much detail except for a few shallow, incised vertical lines indicating the strands of hair.

PARALLELS

In the MGE are a number of heads from Caere of the same type as F41¹²⁹ and some of related type¹³⁰. One head in Pavia, also from Caere and ex-Vatican

¹²⁹ Inv.no.13909: Hafner 1965, p.54, pl.21, no.4.

collection, is very close to F4l and is comparable in size¹³¹. F4l shows similarities with a type present at the deposit by the Ara della Regina in Tarquinia¹³². The examples in Pavia and Tarquinia introduce a difference in the hairstyle on the rear mould with a protruding knot as on F4k and other heads in the MGE collection. Of similar type is a head from Cales, corresponding in size but with different earrings and modified hairstyle¹³³. For the Vatican heads, Kaschnitz-Weinberg suggests Greek models of late 4th early 3rd centuries B.C.¹³⁴. For F4l a dating within the first half of the 3rd century B.C. can also be ventured by the style of the earrings.

FEMALE HEAD: BM.1839.2-14.30

F4m

Campanari Collection

SIZE

H.27cm; base chin to forehead 15cm; external eye corners 8cm; internal eye corner to ear lobe 8.3cm; mouth 32.cm.

CLAY

Pale creamy colour, hard bake, many inclusions visible, mostly small black volcanic crystals and some mica.

ANATOMY

Fine female head modelled in the round with long and narrow face, the slanting forehead is very wide and high, the chin is very prominent and rounded with a

¹³⁰ In particular inv.no. 13927 which also wears the same type of earrings: Hafner 1965, pl.21, no.3.

¹³¹ H.27.5cm, chin to forehead 14cm: Invernizzi- Tomaselli-Zezza 1983, pp.29-30, no.T14.

¹³² Comella 1982, pl.32, a-B2.V1.

¹³³ Blazquez 1968-9, fig.2.

¹³⁴ Kaschnitz-Weinberg 1924-25, p.335.

dimple in the middle, the cheeks are full and soft. The neck is very long and slender flaring towards the base, the whole head is slightly tilted backwards. The eyebrows are pronounced and very close to the eyes with a strong brow-nose line, the eyes are large and almond-shaped, slightly deep-set with heavy upper eyelids, the details of which are realistically rendered with the use of a sharp finishing tool. The pupil is indicated by an incised circle and dot, but only the right one is now visible. The nose is broad but not too long, with fleshy tip and nostrils. The mouth is small with shapely, parted full lips, the upper one curls up at the corners in a smile, creating curious little bulges at the sides of the mouth. The ears, which are well defined, are large and flaring out at the top. One earring survives on the right ear in the shape of a circular stud from which a drop pendant with a small round terminal hangs.

HAIRSTYLE

The hair, parted in the middle, is divided in a series of thick ripples swept away from the temples to the sides of the head just above the ears which are left free. The front of the hair is rendered plastically with many details obtained by a series of deeper and shallower incisions in the clay. This portion of hair is part of the front mould. The hairstyle was probably intended to be seen from a frontal position as the back is totally lacking in details. The rear and top of the head is poorly defined, although the back of the head is modelled fully in the round, with the hair very simply indicated by a few shallow incised lines running irregularly from the top towards the neck which is totally free. The hairstyle displayed on this head is not related to the *Schläfenlocke*, as on most other head of this group, but is an hybrid between a Melon coiffure and a Knidian style, fashionable during the later part of the 4th century B.C. and most of the 3rd century B.C.

PARALLELS

The elongated face and neck with delicate features is reminiscent of the style of the Tanagra and south Italian figurines of the late 4th early 3rd century B.C.¹³⁵ One head of this type from Caere, from a closely related matrix of following

¹³⁵ The hair rendering on this head is much like a small head from Campania in the Louvre which also shows similar physiognomic characteristics: Basques 1986, D.3979, pl.115.j.

generation is in Pavia, ex-Vatican collection¹³⁶. In the MGE is one head of this type with longer hairstyle and different earrings¹³⁷. Veiled examples of this type from Caere are in the Villa Giulia Museum¹³⁸. A votive head from Satricum presents some obvious affinities with F4m¹³⁹. The modelling of the hair is very similar, as are some facial features particularly the rendering of the mouth, parted with fleshy almost swollen lips, the fleshy nose and the large staring eyes: all these details seem to indicate a common prototype. The two heads also display the same type of earrings.

¹³⁶ H.23.5cm, inv.no.82/15: Invernizzi-Tomaselli-Zezza 1983, pp.30-31, no.T15, p.152.

¹³⁷ H.26cm, inv.no.13927: Hafner 1965, pl.21, no.3.

¹³⁸ Vighi 1959, pl.19, no.2; pl.24, no.4.

¹³⁹ Bonacasa 1958, pp.37-45, pl.III, nos.2-3. Bonacasa suggests for the votive head from Satricum, a dependence on Tarentine models inspired by Greek sculpture of the 5th and 4th centuries B.C.

GROUP 5

This group includes only three examples affiliate primarily by the Melon hairstyle. Two heads: F5a (BM.1885.1-17.2) and F5b (BM.1756.1-1.927) are pervaded by south Italian hellenising quality of style and form, with no trace of Italic element.

F5c (BM.1772.3-16.1) shows the raw Italic core often seen in the more popular works, particularly terracottas, amongst the indigenous population of Campania and Samnium¹. The heavy bullae necklace displayed on this head is another distinctive Italic touch. Head F5c is an unusually crude example, made even more atypical by the profusion of ornaments and details on the hair and by the jewellery displayed by such a poor piece. The hairstyle on head F5c is not an authentic Melon coiffure, but rather an hybrid of a style akin to the Knidian coiffure. A very similar hairstyle is shown on a late 3rd-2nd centuries B.C. bronze vase in Paris². The Campanian origin of this head is stressed by similarities with later 3rd century B.C. examples from Capua. On one Capuan head comparable hairstyle is present, together with the same peculiar rosette diadem in the middle of the forehead³.

F5a and F5b, although at first impact different in appearance, share a common model of inspiration, and their expression and features, in particular the mouth and the nose, are comparable. The model for the prototypes is a portrait herm said to be of the poetess Korinna⁴ by the 4th century artist Silanion, as known

1 Chapter 6, paragraph II.

2 Babelon-Blanchet 1895, no.255, p.111; Adam 1984, no.42.

3 Bonghi Jovino 1965, pl.XXXIV, Lva 1; and from the Sanctuary of the Dea Marica at the Garigliano: Mingazzini 1938, pl.XXVI, no.23.

4 Born at Tanagra in the 6th century B.C., she was considered by some the most beautiful woman of her time: Pausanias, IX, xxii, 3; Tatian, ad Gracc. XXXIII, i, 16.

by a Roman copy at Astor Cliveden Hill, near London⁵ (Fig.9). The resemblance between the Roman copy and F5a is undoubtable: the profile line is identical, the shape of the spacious forehead, nose, eyes and brow-line, the parted lips, the long, graceful neck, the manner of carrying the head, the corresponding hairstyle rendered in very similar fashion. Even the way in which the ears are partly hidden under the hair strands at the sides of the face correspond. No earrings are present on the herm, an addition on the votive head due to the Italic love of jewellery, but of a very discreet style unlike the more flamboyant types displayed on other examples.

According to Tatian, a portrait statue of Korinna was made by Silanion in the first half of the 4th century B.C.⁶ A copy of this statue was recognised by Reinach in a terracotta statuette in Compiègne that carries an inscription on its base: *KOPINNA*⁷. The statuette shows a melon coiffure not yet in fashion at the time of Korinna, demonstrating that it is an idealized portrait, an invented likeness more in the tradition of the Tanagra terracottas of late 4th century B.C., and the type of the head is in line with contemporary, similar portraits on coins, as one of mid-4th century B.C. representing Artemis from Orthagoria in northern Greece⁸.

The poetess is represented on the Compiègne statuette wearing a long chiton and hymation covering the left shoulder, like F5b. The likeness between the Roman herm and the Compiègne statuette identify the herm as a portrait of Korinna; in turn, the likeness of the votive heads with the herm but also with the statuette, offers little doubt about the model of inspiration for these heads. On the Compiègne statuette the melon coiffure is rendered in a manner very

5 Schmidt 1932, pp.239-303, fig.32; Richter 1965, vol.I, no.144-I; Sande 1992, pp.43-56, figs.6-7.

6 Tatian, *Contra Gracc.*, 52.

7 Reinach S. *Revue Arch.* XXXII, 1898, p.164, pl.5; Bernoulli 1901, I, p.88, fig.14.

8 Bieber 1961, p.44, figs.120-123; Gaebler H. 'Die antiken Münzen Nord-Griechenlands: Orthagoria.' vol.III, part 2 *Die Antiken Münzen von Makedonia und Paionia*, Berlin 1935, pl.XVIII, nos.21.23, pp.92.

similar to that on F5a. The hairstyle on this head is more common in the Greek world in the 3rd century B.C.⁹.

At Capua the *melonenfrisur* appears first at the end of the 4th, early 3rd centuries B.C.¹⁰. A group of votive terracotta heads with melon coiffure from Capua, show some stylistic resemblance with the type of F5a, suggesting for this type a possible Campanian origin¹¹. However, one bust from the votive deposit in the "Via della Società Operaia" in Arezzo shows evident stylistic affinities with F5a and a similar sensitivity of modelling. The head from Arezzo, assumed to have been influenced by the art of Praxiteles has been dated to the early 2nd century B.C.¹². The hairstyle is also rendered in a very similar manner.

F5b is a small, fine head which reveals a certain elegance, the details are very sensitively treated with confidence, showing that the prototype is close to its Hellenistic model. The type of this head is also linked to Sicilian Hellenistic terracottas of the 2nd quarter of the 3rd century B.C., as similarities can be noted with examples from Morgantina¹³. The Siceliot examples show comparable rendering of the features, with full oval face, large eyes, swelling lips and melon coiffure bound in a high knot.

Melon coiffure of this type is not common amongst terracotta votive heads in central Italy, but is found on 3rd century B.C. Campanian examples from Capua, which also show some dim stylistic comparisons¹⁴. The particular type

9 Thompson 1963, p.40. The series of terracottas from Troy show that the large doughnut-shape coil at the back of the head formed by twined plaits as found on this head, is worn by examples of the late 4th early 3rd centuries B.C. Soon after the coil shrinks to a smaller size and in the second half of the 3rd century B.C. it grows even smaller. The circlet, or fillet, worn over the melon coiffure is also found at Troy on examples all dating to the 3rd century B.C.: Thompson 1963, p.44.

10 Bonghi Jovino 1965, p.24.

11 Bonghi Jovino 1965, pls.XXVI-XXVII, in particular fig.1, lia1.

12 *Arte e Civiltà degli Etruschi*, no.371; *Santuari d'Etruria*, pp.181-182, no.10.3.3.

13 Bell 1981, pl.39, no.147.

14 Bonghi Jovino 1965, pl.XXVI, no.4, pl.XXVII, nos. 1-4.

of melon coiffure displayed on head F5b is rather comparable also to the terracottas from Troy¹⁵.

F5b shows some stylistic affinities with a small bronze bust from Vulci in the Museo Gregoriano Etrusco, dated to the middle of the 3rd century B.C¹⁶. Although the terracotta is, for once, superior in quality, they can be compared in size and form: both busts with rounded shoulders and chiton with narrow straps fastened by large hemispherical brooches. The two busts also share the same melon coiffure with segments and bow-knot.

FEMALE HEAD: BM.1885.1-17.2

F5a

Purchased from Sig.A.Mele

SIZE

H.23cm; base of chin to forehead 13.5cm; external eye corners 6.3cm; mouth 2.6cm; internal eye corner to ear lobe 7.5cm.

CLAY

Pale orange-pink colour, powdery surface, numerous inclusions visible on the surface, fine in size, only a few larger black volcanic particles, mostly red pozzolana, some quartz crystals and few small flints.

ANATOMY

15 Thompson 1963, p.43, pl.XLIV, nos.205-6. According to Thompson the low bow is a typical style of the 3rd century B.C. and used as a knot for the melonenfrisur. This type of melon coiffure appears on major sculpture in the last quarter of the 4th century B.C. but on minor arts not until the 3rd century B.C.: Bell 1981, p.66.

16 Inv.no.12164; Kilmer 1977, fig.202.

Female head modelled in the round. The face is round and full with a high curved forehead, the chin is rounded and not too prominent in profile the cheeks are broad and full. The eyes are small, close-set and almond-shaped, carefully executed in detail with pronounced upper and lower eyelids, defined by deep incisions, and linear, arched eyebrows. The nose is short, straight and narrow, pointed at the tip with fleshy nostrils defined by deep incisions. In profile the forehead and nose form a continuous line. The shapely small mouth has full, slightly parted lips, the ears, partly covered by the hair, display a pair of earrings of simple type probably small circular pendants attached to a circular stud. The neck flares out to form a ring base on which the head stands; this head appears to have been made in one single mould. This expressive head is well made from a good, sharp matrix.

HAIRSTYLE

This head displays a typical *melonenfrisur*. The hair is divided in sections, twelve wide strands starting from the forehead, pulled at the back partly covering the ears, and tied in a large doughnut-shape bun. The details of the hair are rendered with deep and shallow incisions diagonally placed on the surface of the strands, each section created by very deep horizontal incisions along the head from front to back. At the top of the head is a simple, narrow ribbon or fillet, which may also be a diadem with *nodus Herculeus*.

FEMALE HEAD: BM.1756.1-1.927

F5b

Sloane Collection, acquired in Italy for Sloane by the Abbé Sterbini

SIZE

H.16.5cm; max. width 7.5cm; max. shoulder width 12cm; base of chin to forehead 7.7cm; mouth 1.5cm; external eye corners 4cm; nose 2.3cm; internal eye corner to ear lobe 4cm.

CLAY

Orange-creamy colour, surface slightly powdery, fairly smooth to the touch, little inclusions visible on the surface, thin walls c.0.7cm at the base. Light in weight, half shoulder restored.

ANATOMY

Small female head and shoulders, the face is oval in shape, well proportioned with high and fairly prominent cheek-bones, rounded chin and wide forehead. The eyes are delicately and carefully defined, slightly almond-shaped and deep-set. The eyebrows are prominent, the irises and pupils are marked with incision and central dot now mostly faded due to the powdery consistency of the clay. The nose is straight and narrow with well defined tip and nostrils. The mouth is small with full, slightly parted lips, the ears are poorly rendered in detail with only one earring surviving on the left ear, of simple drop-pendant type. The round shoulders, terminating just above the breasts, are wrapped in a garment fastened at the top of the shoulder by a fibula. Around the neck is a necklace, visible just above the folds of the garment, of simple tubular torques type with lateral incisions possibly indicating a twisted chain. All the details are rendered with the aid of a sharp tool on the finished product before firing. This head is modelled front and back, the joint between the front and rear mould is barely visible except on the top of the head, where the hairstyle is probably meant to cover it.

HAIRSTYLE

The hair, parted in the middle, is divided in a series of waved segments swept towards the back of the head. On the top of the head is a kind of "bow knot", which seems to have been applied separately, on it is a small hole or vent. A larger vent-hole is also at the back of the head, where the strands of hair converge. At the sides of the face the hair covers the ears and at the front delicate locks, the details of which are finely rendered by shallow incisions, form an undulating frame around the face.

FEMALE HEAD: BM.1772.3-16.1

F5c

Hamilton Collection: total of 12 mentioned by D'Harcenville, nos.1-4 identified by 1978, said to have been found in a tomb in Campania.

SIZE

H.15cm; max.width 6cm; width of the base 8.5cm; base of chin to forehead 9.2cm; external eye corners 5.5cm; mouth 2.2cm; internal eye corner to ear lobe 4.8cm.

CLAY

Deep red colour, patchy surface due to the uneven firing, rough to the touch, numerous inclusions visible, small to large in size, ill sorted and angular, mostly black spongy volcanic, some mica, many quartz crystals, some white chalky particles. Heavy in weight.

ANATOMY

Female head, very crude and lacking realism. Rectangular- shaped face with square pronounced chin, the forehead is low but wide, the cheek bones are high but flat. The eyebrows are thick and very pronounced forming a protruding arch above the elongated eyes, narrow and simply rendered by an applied strip of clay slit across. The nose is long and narrow with pronounced fleshy nostrils (damaged at the tip). The mouth is large with full, slightly pouting lips sharply defined. The ears are not rendered in any detail but one earring survives on the right side, in the form of a simple stud. Around the broad, square neck is a heavy bullae necklace formed by a string and three pendants, a circular central one and two lateral oblong-shaped decorated by crude incisions. The neck expands to form a base.

HAIRSTYLE

The hair, parted in the middle and divided in longitudinal segments, is pulled at the back of the head and tied firmly into a long bun projecting from the centre of the back of the head. The bun is hollowed and is fastened by a fillet, or tress wrapped around it three times, rendered by a narrow, flat coil of clay. On the top of the head the hair is held by a fillet or ribbon, which disappears under the

nape of the neck behind the ears. The ribbon is simply indicated by deep incisions in the clay, also the details of the hair strands are rendered by deep incisions in the clay, running from the forehead to the back of the head. Particularly deep is the incision that runs longitudinally across the head. Just above the forehead is a diadem of "flower and myrtle" type. This head seems to have been made in a single piece.

GROUP 6

The heads in this group have in common a certain androgynous character, conveyed partly by the strong features, but mostly by the hairstyle. The types in this group are related to each other.

F6aII (BM.1839.2-14.37), a small juvenile figure, is, although at first impact quite different from it, a derivative of F6aI (BM.1839.2-14.28) as can be determined by the correspondence in the shape of eyes, nose and mouth.

F6aII is, in turn, comparable to F6bII (BM.1974.8-12.12) by the similar hairstyle with large, S-shaped forelocks. The two heads, however, differ completely in facial type and F6bII is derived from the type of F6bI (BM.1839.2-14.32).

F6bI also shows large forelocks but circular, rather than S-shaped, and is related in type to F6aI and to a group of popular male heads. Both heads have parallels in the MGE collection with various modifications of hairstyle. In Pavia is one example of the type of F6bI that shows the hairstyle with S-shaped forelocks as on F6aII¹.

F6c (B.M.1839.2-14.36), shows some similarities of expression and pose with F6bI, and a type of hairstyle similar to F6aI with irregular fringe.

There is a distinct masculine character about F6bI, in the strong features and in the hairstyle, recalling Asiatic Hellenistic portraits of the Alexander iconography. The expression full of longing and pathos is a reflection of the later portraits of the Macedonian king, as is the "lion's mane" of Lysippan extraction adopted in a more "baroque" manner². Stylistically the type of this head seems to be dependent from the art of the Great Altar of Pergamon, particularly evident in comparison with some heads on the frieze. Alike are the pathetic expression of the eyes, the long locks over the forehead, the strong but

¹ Invernizzi-Tomaselli-Zezza, 1983, T18, p.33.

² Bieber 1964, pp.64-65, pp.70.

soft faces³. The deep-set eyes with overhanging brow, the flaring nostrils and the projecting chin are characteristics of the portraits of Eastern Hellenistic rulers, following the pattern set by the earlier representations of Alexander. The intensity of the expression is also compatible with late 3rd century B.C. "baroque" Hellenistic art.

The hairstyle displayed on this head is dated in Etruria to the late 3rd-2nd centuries B.C. A fragmentary votive head from Tarquinia, dated to the middle 3rd century B.C., shows strong affinity in facial type and hairstyle with head F6bI⁴. The head from Tarquinia is compared to a series of Hellenistic Tarentine antefixes⁵. However, the Tarentine connection is to be found, rather than in the antefixes much removed from the type of the votive head, in a group of *gorgonea* dated to the late 3rd, early 2nd centuries B.C.⁶ These objects, influenced by Eastern models of middle to late Hellenistic period characterised by the over-pathetic expression of the eyes and parted lips, show the same middle parting of the hair, large forelocks, and side locks curling inwards over the cheeks.

A Caeretan origin for the types of this group is suggested by their affinity with similar heads from Caere, in particular with the examples from the large Vatican collection⁷.

³ Schuchardt 1925, pls.24, 26, 31.

⁴ Comella 1982, pl. 30 b, B2II, from the deposit at the Ara della Regina.

⁵ Laviosa 1954, p.242, no.35, pl.LXXIX: 4.

⁶ The best examples are a Tarentine *gorgonea* in the *Antikenmuseum* in Basel, probably from a terracotta medallion, which shows stylistic affinity with Pergamene coins of 3rd century B.C. and with the frieze on the Great Altar of Pergamon: Herdejürgen 1978, p.64, no.A68; Herdejürgen 1982, no.150, pp.101-102. Also a silver gorgon head in medallion from Tarentum shows the two high locks and similar facial characteristics: Segall B. 'Alexandria und Tarent. Eine Tarentinische Fundgruppe des Frühen Hellenismus.' *Archäologischer Anzeiger* 1965, pp.563, figs.5-10.

⁷ Also the terracottas in the Museo dell'Istituto di Archeologia in Pavia, ex-Vatican collection Invernizzi-Tomaselli-Zezza 1983.

FEMALE HEAD from statue: BM.1839.2-14.28

F6aI

Campanari Collection

SIZE

H.28cm; base chin to forehead 10cm; external eye corners 8cm; nose 4.5cm; mouth 3.5cm; internal eye corner to ear lobe 8.5cm.

CLAY

Creamy-yellow colour, many inclusions visible on the surface, fine to medium in size with some larger lumps, mostly black volcanic crystals, red pozzolana, quartz crystals, some mica. Faint traces of red pigment on the hair and earrings. Heavy in weight.

ANATOMY

Fine female head possibly from statue, modelled in the round with long oval face and strong and expressive features. The forehead is wide, the rounded and strong chin, presents a small dimple in the middle, the cheek-bones are high and pronounced. The eyes, oblong in shape with heavy upper eyelids, look slightly downward, the pupils and irises are rendered with incised circle and dot, the eyebrows are close to the eyes and pronounced. The nose is long and straight with a wide bridge and flaring nostrils. The large, shapely mouth has full slightly parted lips, both sharply outlined and only just curling up at the corners giving to the entire head a realistic and expressive look. The ears are placed quite high but are indicated with attempt to anatomical accuracy. From the earlobes hung a pair of earrings formed by a circular stud decorated probably in the centre with a rosette and a long triangular pendent; between the two is a half moon-shaped element, inside the right stud is visible a rosette. The neck is long and broad, around the neck is a necklace of open torque shape formed by a twisted loop with two terminals possibly of zoomorphic type. The ears and earrings are part of the rear mould.

HAIRSTYLE

The hair is straight to shoulder level with flowing locks of hair behind the ears; there is no middle parting but over the forehead is an unusual fringe formed by irregular strands of hair starting from the crown of the head and combed forward. The side locks turn towards the centre of the forehead in a manner similar to the "pincers" hairstyle more common on male heads. The strands of hair on the fringe terminate over the forehead and at the sides with small ringlets, S-shaped on the front and larger shapeless blobs at the sides and in front of the ears which are left uncovered. The back of the head is modelled in the round but is less well-finished than the front, the details of the hair defined simply by shallow, straight incisions in the clay, terminating in ringlets resting gently on the shoulders.

PARALLELS

The androgynous nature of this type of votive head can be checked on the male version of this type found at the deposit of Minerva Medica in Rome⁸. F6aI almost certainly belongs to the same group of terracotta votive statues, male and female, of 3rd century B.C., best represented by two examples in Basel⁹. A male statue wearing a toga¹⁰, of a well known and common type amongst votive heads¹¹, shows the same peculiar hair rendering as F6aI, with flame-like, snaky strands radiating from the crown of the head and brought over the forehead and sides of the face (in the fashion displayed by some people combing longer back hair forward to cover a bald patch). The type of the face is also similar, but is particularly like that of the female statue in Basel, which, in spite of the different hairstyle, shows great resemblance in features and expression with F6aI. The two female statues further share the same type of open torques necklace.

⁸ Gatti Lo Guzzo 1978, pl.XXXV, GV1, GV11.

⁹ Hafner 1982, pp.204-228, nos.215-216.

¹⁰ Hafner 1969, pp.23-46, figs.28, 35, 38, pls.13, 22; Hafner 1966-67, pl.18, no.47; Hafner G. 'Eine Etruskische Bildnisstatue aus Terrakotta im Suermondt Museum, Aachen.' *Aachen Kunstblätter* XXXIV, 1967, p.24.

¹¹ The type is derived from that of the group 1839.2-14.3/4/5/12/15, and is particularly like the smaller, younger heads 1839.2-14.22/24/50 in the hairstyle over the forehead.

In the MGE there is a close Caeretan parallel from related matrix, with similar earrings, but different hairstyle with middle parting¹². Also from Caere are a number of fragmentary heads from the deposit at "Vignaccia" in the Lowie Museum at Berkeley which show strong similarity with F6aI¹³. Although the upper part is missing these heads display the same nose and mouth outline, strong dimpled chin, nostrils and corners of lips emphasized by a sharply pointed instrument. The hair is also long with flowing locks behind the ears to the shoulders. The modelling at the back of the head also closely compares.

One of the fragmentary Caeretan heads displays a torque with animal protomes of a type similar to that of F6aI¹⁴. A similar necklace and earrings are displayed also on a terracotta bust from Ariccia in the Museo delle Terme in Rome¹⁵.

FEMALE HEAD: BM.1839.2-14.37

F6aII

Campanari collection.

SIZE

H.18.5cm; base of chin to forehead 10.6cm; external eye corners 5.6cm, mouth 2.2cm.

CLAY

Dull grey surface, possibly light creamy colour inside, few inclusions visible on the surface, fine to coarse in size, mostly black volcanic particles, red pozzolana. Traces of red pigment survive on the face and neck.

¹² Inv.no.13927; Hafner 1965, pl.21, no.3.

¹³ Nagy 1988, pp.122-123, figs.60-62, pls.XXX-XXXI, IA41, IA42.

¹⁴ Nagy 1988, fig 62, pl.XXXI. For the necklace p.301 no.7.

¹⁵ Inv.no.112375: *Roma medio Repubblicana*, pp.321-324, pls.LXII-LXIV.

ANATOMY

Head of young girl modelled in the round. Oval full face, slightly chubby, full cheeks and rounded chin with small dimple. The forehead is broad and high, the eyebrows are close to the eyes, little pronounced and slightly downturning, the eyes are small and almond-shaped. The nose is long, turning outwards at the tip, with wide, fleshy nostrils, the mouth is small, close to the nose with slightly parted, pouting lips. The ears are covered by the hair, the neck is broad and forms a small ring-base.

HAIRSTYLE.

The hair is long and straight, falling around the face and neck in layered strands, with a kink at the ends. On the forehead are two large S-shaped locks, full and pointed at the ends, the locks at the side cover part of the cheeks. The details are rendered by numerous incisions with a sharp tool. The back of the head is smoothed and no details are shown.

PARALLELS

F6aII is derived from the type of F6aI. One head of this type from Caere of very closely related matrix is in the MGE¹⁶, and one, also from Caere of closely related matrix, is in Pavia¹⁷.

FEMALE HEAD: BM.1839.214.32

F6bI

Campanari Collection

SIZE

H.24.5cm; base chin to forehead 13cm; external eye corners 7cm; mouth 2.7cm; internal eye corner to earlobe 6.5cm.

¹⁶ Inv.no. 13938: Vessberg 1941, p.283, pl.XCI, nos.4-5; Hafner 1965, p.57, pl.23, no.4.

¹⁷ Ex Vatican collection: Invernizzi-Tomaselli-Zezza 1983, T19, p.34, p.154.

CLAY

Light creamy-pink colour, surface quite smooth to the touch, numerous inclusions visible, medium to large in size, mostly black volcanic particles, red pozzolana, some quartz crystals.

ANATOMY

Female head and neck modelled in the round, the neck is damaged at the base, the head is restored. The face is oval and full with high cheek-bones and a strong slightly projecting chin, the forehead is spacious and free. The eyebrows are low, close to the eyes and overhanging. The eyes are small, almond-shaped, close-set and slightly deep-set with well-defined upper eyelids and lightly incised pupils. The nose, short and straight has wide, flaring nostrils and a wide bridge, the effect is that of a boxer-like, broken nose. The small, full mouth, placed closely to the nose, shows slightly parted lips curling at the corners, conferring to the face a somewhat sullen expression. The ears are flattened, scarcely visible and clearly part of the back mould together with the hair. The neck forms a simple ring base.

HAIRSTYLE

The hair, parted in the middle, is layered with longer strands on the back of the neck and shorter ones swept towards the face. The forelocks over the forehead form two wide, almost circular curls, curving not to the sides of the face but inwards. Down the sides of the face are a series of short strands combed towards the cheeks. Behind the ears and on the back of the head the longer hair is combed straight.

PARALLELS

In a Swiss private collection is a bronze male statuette, dated to the 3rd-2nd centuries B.C., believed to be from Caere, showing a very similar hairstyle.¹⁸ F6bI shows affinities with the type of male heads of Group 17, both in facial type and in the rendering of the side locks. It is likely that the female version of

¹⁸ Mitten-Doeringer 1967, p.183, no.187.

this type is adapted from the male. One head of this type comes from Tarquinia¹⁹.

Two terracotta votive heads of the same type are in the MGE, one with slightly longer hairstyle²⁰, and one with the same clinging hair to the neck but different front modelling²¹.

The same type of head but with slightly modified hairstyle at the sides of the face is found in the votive deposit of Minerva Medica on the Esquiline in Rome, dated to the 2nd century B.C.²², and at Veii²³

FEMALE HEAD: BM.1974.8-12.12

F6bII

SIZE

H.18cm; base chin to forehead 9.5cm; external eye corners 5cm; mouth 2.4cm; internal eye corner to ear lobe 5.7cm.

CLAY

Pink-orange colour, fine purified clay with few small inclusions visible on the surface, mostly black volcanic and red pozzolana.

ANATOMY

Small head of young girl modelled in the round, the joining point between the two mould is clearly visible behind the frontal locks of hair. The face is oval and long with full cheeks and round chin, the forehead is spacious and high.

¹⁹ Comella 1982, pl.30 b, B2II.

²⁰ Inv.no.13856.

²¹ Inv.no.13909: Hafner 1965, pl.21, fig.4.

²² Gatti Lo Guzzo 1978, pp.89-90, pl.XXXV, GV,1.

²³ Torelli 1973, p.231, fig.105, no.5.

The eyebrows are low and pronounced, the eyes are small and almond-shaped, the nose is short with wide, fleshy nostrils and rounded tip in profile. The mouth is large with shapely, full, lips parted into a smile. The ears are very poorly represented, the neck is long and broad turning outwards into a base-ring.

HAIRSTYLE

The short hair is delineated in details only at the front, on the back is simply indicated by a few, wide, deep incisions radiating from the middle of the head. Over the forehead the hair is rendered in large S-shaped curls, wide at the top and pointed at the ends; at the sides are a series of two smaller curls and in front of the ears is a curl indicated by a lump of clay. The details of the hair strands are evidenced by incisions with a sharp tool.

F6bII is derived from the type of F6bI.

FEMALE HEAD: BM.1839.2-14.36

F6c

Campanari collection

SIZE

H.19cm; base of chin to forehead 10.5cm; external eye corners 5.9cm; mouth 2.6cm; internal eye corner to ear lobe 6.8cm.

CLAY

Dull creamy clay, numerous coarse inclusions visible on the surface, mostly red/brown pozzolana and black volcanic particles. The surface is very dark due to grit and decayed pigment.

ANATOMY

Female head of young girl modelled in the round and cut-off at the neck. The face is oval in shape with full cheeks and round chin, slightly slanting in profile, the forehead is wide but low, mostly covered by the hair. The eyebrows are little pronounced and flat, the eyes are small and oblong in shape, quite

accurately outlined with sharp downturning outer corners. The nose is short, straight with wide, fleshy nostrils and upturned tip in profile, the mouth is small with deep indentations at the sides of the shapely full lips. The ears are crudely rendered, the neck is damaged on the left side.

HAIRSTYLE

The hair is long and straight, the strands of hair radiating from the crown at the back of the head and rendered in details by grooves and ridges, are brought forward to the sides, neck and over the forehead. On the forehead and sides a series of irregular strands form a wide fringe that joins the hair on the neck covering in part the ears.

PARALLELS

One head of this type is in Munich²⁴. This head has some affinities with the type of male head M17bII.

²⁴ West 1933, p.25, pl.VI, nos.17-17a.

GROUP 7

The heads included in this group, are representations of two female children and are among the finest examples of votive heads in the British Museum collection. Their quality is better than the average, mass-produced standard, approaching individual, almost portrait-like quality not unlike late Republican terracotta busts. Their individuality promotes a later dating, at the close of the tradition of the votive heads, in the late 2nd century B.C. However, the presence on F7a (BM.1959.6-12.1) of loop earrings with lion's head terminal, of 3rd century B.C. type, casts a reservation on the dating of this fine example, in spite of the evident effort to portray individual character.

The same hairstyle as portrayed on F7b (BM.1839.2-14.38) is present on the head of a young woman, not a child, in the collection of votive terracottas in the MGE¹. The hair rendering is virtually identical, the same forelock turning sideways and ruffled strands are also displayed. The presence of this style of coiffure, particularly of the detail of the wind swept locks, on more than one head of different age group, seems to indicate that a well known type, possibly based on an Hellenistic model, is represented. Kaschnitz-Weinberg recognised for the head in the MGE the influence of Greek Classicising portraiture of the 2nd century B.C.²

FEMALE CHILD: BM.1959.6-12.1

F7a

Found unregistered

SIZE

H.15cm; base of chin to forehead 8.9cm; external eye corners 5.4cm; mouth 2.6cm.

¹ Inv.no.13906: Vessberg 1941, pl.XCII, nos.1-2; Kaschnitz-Weinberg 1925, pp.325-350, fig.5; Hafner 1965, pl.24 nos.3-4.

² Kaschnitz-Weinberg 1925, p.336.

CLAY

Light pink in colour, numerous inclusions visible, fine to coarse in size, mostly black volcanic particles, white shelly, quartz crystals, mica, red pozzolana. Quite heavy in weight.

ANATOMY

Head of female child cut short to the neck (partly damaged). This charming head is one of the few that stands out as a personalised interpretation of an individual or rather of a type of individual, in this case of a small, smiling cheeky girl, full of character and life. The modelling of the head, although sketchy, is obviously carried out with confidence by a skilful hand and it could have been made in one piece without the use of a matrix. The smile is the dominant characteristic on the child's head as it affects all its features: the face is round and full, with the chubby cheeks puffed up by the smile. The forehead is broad but not high, as it is mostly covered by the hair, the chin, wide and rounded, present a small dimple in the middle. The small eyes are elongated and squeezed up by the cheeks, the mouth is stretched and parted; the effect is very realistic. The nose is relatively long, narrow at the bridge with fleshy nostrils and up-turned tip. The nostrils are accurately rendered with the breathing holes deeply incised to accentuate the lifelike effect, a detail usually neglected in most votive heads. The mouth is also keenly portrayed, even if not minutely detailed, a few strokes of the *stecca* have created a very convincing result. The upper lip, stretched by the smile, is slightly curling upwards, the lower lip, separated from the upper by a slit wider at the corners, is rounded outwards almost in utterance of a laugh or shrill. The ears are covered by the hair, but one earring of ring shape type with lion's head terminal survives on the right side.

HAIRSTYLE

The straight bob hairstyle displayed by this head has a very "modern" look; strands of very straight hair, starting from the crown at the top of the head, run along the head, forming over the forehead a fringe neatly curving towards the temples and down to cover the ears. The line of the hair at the sides is also precisely cut in a oblique line terminating at the back of the head, above the neck in a gently rounded line. The mass of the hair appears to have been

applied to the head as a layer of clay subsequently modelled into streaks with details added as smaller incisions.

FEMALE CHILD: BM.1839.2-14.38

F7b

Campanari Collection

SIZE

H.17.6cm; base chin to forehead 11.5cm; external eye corners 6cm; mouth 2.8cm; internal eye corners to ear lobe 6.3cm; tip of nose to external eye corner 4.3cm.

CLAY

Pale creamy colour, soft, partly purified clay, numerous inclusions visible, medium to small in size, mostly quartz crystals, black volcanic particles, red pozzolana.

The inclusions are little visible on the smooth surface which is much darkened by deteriorated pigment.

ANATOMY

Head and neck of young girl with mischievous, slightly boyish, expression. The face is oval in shape with a high and wide forehead, completely exposed from the hair; the chin is rounded but pointed in profile, the cheeks are high and puffy. The eyebrows are straight and little emphasised, the expressive eyes are almond-shaped and sharply defined, particularly the inner corners. The eye contours are underlined with the sharp tool, the left eye is slightly larger than the right one. The nose is short and rounded on the nostrils in a child-like manner, the mouth is small with slightly parted lips curling upwards into a happy smile, accentuated by small dimples at the corners. The small ears are exposed, on the left lobe is a simple circular stud earring. The neck flares out into a base (damaged) just above shoulder level.

HAIRSTYLE

The plain, straight hairstyle consists of strands combed close to the head giving the impression of fine, thin hair. At each side of the face is a parting starting from the crown of the head, dividing the central segment of hair into a fringe, almost a forelock, curled towards the left (the tip of the lock is missing) and upwards. The temples are left free as is the forehead, at the sides a few strands of hair fall in front of the ears. Behind the head the hair is neatly combed straight down the nape of the neck, the hair strands are rendered with deep and shallow incisions in the clay, with some final retouch by hand. Here and there a few strands of hair twirl out, as if ruffled by the wind, like the fringe at the top of the head. This unusual detail of rebellious locks on the otherwise flattish hairstyle, adds to the childish charm of this head.

FEMALE GROUP MISCELLANEOUS

This group includes examples that do not have any relationship with the other groups, or to each other, they may be comparable to some specific types but do not fit in their group.

Fmt (BM.1974.8-12.3), the first example, stands alone amongst the votive heads and is treated separately.

Fma (BM.1839.2-14.35) is the same type of F4e, the two heads are very similar, especially in profile, but display a different hairstyle. The marked resemblance, the near size and comparable base ring, suggest that the matrices for these heads, although different, are almost contemporary placing Fma in the middle, or second half of the 3rd century B.C. The pathetic expression, the shape of the face, the parted lips, the slanting eyes, and particularly the hair arrangement suggest for this head affinity also with a type from Veii Campetti¹. The Veientine type is dated to the 2nd century B.C., a date probably too advanced for this head².

FmbI (BM.1982.9-29.7) exhibits a popular hairstyle with middle parting and with the hair swept to the sides in full waves as on head F2l.

Head Fmd (B.M.1974.8-12.27) is related to the type of F2g, presenting affinities with that head in the style of the modelling and in the rendering of the features, particularly the eye-line and the shape of the mouth.

Fme (BM.1772.3-16.3) shows a crudeness of style and of features, particularly the interpretation of the ears, eyes and hairstyle, with a band of hair just circling the head and plain top and back of the head, that compares it to some male Capuan examples³. This type, of purely indigenous Italic character, is unknown

¹ Vagnetti 1971, pl.XIX, BIII.

² Comella 1981, p.786, BIX, fig.24.

³ Bonghi Jovino 1965, group Q, pl.XLVI.3.

outside Campania and is dated to the 2nd century B.C. One female head from Capua shares the shape of the ears, eyes and the form of the neck⁴.

The appearance of head Fmf (BM.1974.8-12.21) is very coarse and recalls funerary stone sculpture of primitive local Italic tradition⁵.

Head Fmg (BM.1982.9-29.8) is also very coarse, the poor preservation of it makes any comment superfluous.

FEMALE HEAD with Tutulus: BM.1974.8-12.3

Ft

Found unregistered

SIZE

H.18.5cm; external eye corners 4.8cm; nose 3.5cm; mouth 1.6cm; base chin to forehead 9.8cm; internal eye corner to lobe 5.5cm.

CLAY

Orange colour, darker in places due to uneven firing, numerous inclusions visible, very fine in size with only a small number of larger specks, mostly black volcanic particles, quartz crystals, mica, few flints. The head is solid, quite heavy and smooth to the touch.

ANATOMY

Female head and neck with base-ring wearing an Etruscan *Tutulus*. The face is long and narrow with flat cheek bones, wide forehead and round chin receding in profile. The eyebrows are prominent, the large staring, round eyes are rimmed by marked eye-lids in typical archaic Etruscan manner. The snub nose is long and straight, the mouth is very small with thick, slightly pouting lips. The large, crudely illustrated ears, are placed high on the sides of the head. The long cone-shaped neck, which turns out at the front into a ring-base, displays a

⁴ Bonghi Jovino 1965, group D, pl.XV.a1.

⁵ Bianchi Bandinelli-Giuliano 1985, p.332, figs.382-385.

pendants type necklace, only roughly modelled and clearly part of the matrix, fashioned by seven triangular-shaped elements suspended from a chain placed close to the throat.

HAIRSTYLE

The hair, a scalloped fringe shown as a solid mass, is visible only over the forehead and partly at the sides as an irregularly waved edge. This style, common on archaic terracottas in Sicily and Magna Graecia⁶, is often represented in Etruscan art, rendered in a manner close to terracotta antefixes of the late 6th early 5th centuries B.C.⁷ This hairstyle is also found on small votive bronze works of late 6th, early 5th centuries⁸. Within this band no details are indicated by incisions or other means. At the back of the head is the conical, pointed shape characteristic of the late 6th, early 5th centuries B.C. hairstyle, consisting of long hair bound up on top of the head and hidden by a conical cap or tutulus, visible under a veil or mantle, with a stiff narrow brim just above the hair band. This hairstyle goes out of fashion by 480-470 B.C.⁹

PARALLELS

This small head has a male equivalent in the Museo Nazionale, Naples¹⁰. The two heads are virtually identical and presumably derived from a closely related

⁶ Barra Bagnasco 1986, pp.41-64; Letta 1971, pp.30, 45, pls.IV, no.1, VI, no.1; Herdejürgen 1971, pl.3, nos.8,4,10-14; Herdejürgen 1978, p.20, A2, A3; Zancani Monturno P. 'Divinità e templi di Sibari e Thurii' *AttiMGrecia*, 1972-73, pl.XLIII; Stoop W.M. 'Acropoli sulla Motta' *AttiMGrecia* 1974-76, p.20, pl.LVIII; Rizza G. 'La grande scultura greca in Italia Meridionale e in Sicilia' *Arte Antica e Moderna*, XII, 1960, fig.23, nos.1,4,8.

⁷ From Satricum: Andren 1940, p.472, II:13f, pl.149:512; p.471, II:13b-c, pl.148:511; p.471,II13a, pl.147:510; pl.147:510; in Naples Museo Archeologico Nazionale inv.no.176349, from Minturno at the Sanctuary of the Dea Marica: Mingazzini 1938, pl.V,11; from Teano, a late 6th century B.C. example that also shows a similar type of necklace with circular pendants, placed high on the neck: Johannowsky 1963, p.135, fig.5a; in Naples Museo Archeologico Nazionale inv.no.21580, from Cales: Koch 1912, pl.XII,5; Winter 1978, p.43, pl.XXI,2; Riis 1981, p.18, no.6D.

⁸ *Santuari d'Etruria*, p.35, n.1.20; Richardson 1983, pp.313-314, no.1.21; Richardson 1983, p.279, no.14, pl. 192, no.651; p.178, no.10.2 17; p.294, no.3, pl.206, figs.698-699; p.292, no.2 fig.692; *Civiltà degli Etruschi*, p.285, no.10.30.2.

⁹ Bonfante 1975, p.76.

¹⁰ Cat.no.704, inv.24386: Levi 1926, fig.121, p.156.

matrix. Only the hair and head-dress differ the size (forehead to base of neck) is approximately the same, the shape of the face and the features, with the wide round eyes, the small thick mouth, the broad conical neck, the high ears, are comparable. The example in Naples displays short hair smoothed over the head like a tight fitting cap with clearly defined edge all around, in a manner common amongst small votive bronzes of late 6th and 5th centuries B.C. The head is described in the catalogue as of "Egyptian type", presumably owing to the emphasized eyes, long neck, cap-like hairstyle. These attributes have been incorrectly assigned to Egyptian influence overlooking their likeness with contemporary Etruscan small votive bronzes, which the maker of these terracotta heads was clearly trying to imitate.

For head Ft particularly interesting is the comparison with a small votive bronze head from the deposit of the "*Fonte Veneziana*" in Arezzo¹¹, in many ways strikingly alike. The pointed conical cap and brim are rendered in a similar manner, as also the back of the head and nape of the neck, the same waved band of hair on the forehead is present, the features, both frontally and in profile compare, the ears are highly placed (although higher on the bronze), and the neck is similarly developed as a broad cone-shaped base. The deposit, connected with healing waters cult, is dated from c.540 B.C. to the end of the century¹².

FEMALE HEAD: BM.1839.2-14.35

FMa

Campanari Collection

SIZE

H.21.3cm; base chin to forehead 11.7cm; external eye corners 6.5cm; mouth 2.6cm.

¹¹ Bocci Pacini 1980, pp.73-91; Richardson 1983, p.294, no.3, pl.206, figs.698-699.

¹² Richardson 1983, p.112; *Santuari d'Etruria* pp.174-179.

CLAY

Grey, dull colour surface with pale creamy core, numerous inclusions visible, fine to coarse in size, mostly black volcanic and red-brown pozzolana. Surface rough to the touch, the dark surface colouring could be the result of decayed pigment.

ANATOMY

Female head modelled in the round, oval face with a vaguely pathetic expression, the forehead is not very high and sloping in profile, the chin is round and jutting, the face is wide across the flat cheek-bones. The eyebrows and the nose-brow line are little pronounced, the eyes are large and almond-shaped but poorly defined, the upper lids are marked by deep incisions but the lower lids are little indicated, under the eyes are pronounced swellings. The nose is straight and wide across the bridge, the forehead and the nose form a continuous line, the tip of the nose is damaged and the nostrils are slightly flaring. The mouth is small with full, well defined lips, slightly parted. The neck flares out in a base ring, the ears are covered by the hair.

HAIRSTYLE

The hair is long and falls loosely and undulating at the sides to shoulder level covering the ears. A short irregular fringe, slightly parting on the right side covers the forehead. The hair is rendered only at the front and sides, the back is modelled and smoothed but no attempt has been made to indicate details.

PARALLELS

This head is of the same type of F4e but with different hairstyle; it also shows affinities with a type from Veii Campetti¹³. One example of this type from a closely related matrix is in the Museo Civico in Modena, from Veii, Piazza d'Armi¹⁴. Also from Veio, Porta Caere, is another example of the type¹⁵. From

¹³ Vagnetti 1971, pl.XIX, BIII.

¹⁴ Inv.no.46: Hoffer 1985, p.203, no.212, abb.20.

¹⁵ Torelli-Pohl 1973, fig.105, Ab4.

the votive deposit of Minerva Medica in Rome are three examples of the type, with slightly different hairstyle¹⁶.

FEMALE VEILED HEAD small: BM.1982.9-29.7

FMbI

Transferred from the V&A in 1982.

SIZE

H.16.5cm; base of chin to forehead 8.3cm; external eye corners 4.5cm; mouth 1.7cm.

CLAY

Deep orange colour, numerous inclusions visible, ill sorted, medium to fine in size, mostly black volcanic particles and red pozzolana.

ANATOMY

Small female veiled head with oval, full face, rounded chin and wide forehead slanting in profile. The arched eyebrows are pronounced, the eyes are small and oblong, the nose is long and pinched, damaged at the tip, the mouth is small with full, parted lips. The neck is fading into the sides of the veil and expands to make a base; around the neck is a plain band necklace, on the top of the head is a fillet or diadem. The ears are barely visible; at the back of the veil is a vent hole 3cm in diameter.

HAIRSTYLE

The hair is parted in the middle and lightly pulled to the sides in undulating strands in the fashion of F21, partly covering the ears.

¹⁶ Gatti Lo Guzzo 1978, pl.XXXV, GVII.

PARALLELS

The type of this head is paralleled at the votive deposit in Fregellae, where several examples of this type have been excavated, some of earlier generation matrix other of identical size, suggesting a probable origin for FMbI¹⁷.

FEMALE HALF HEAD VEILED small: BM.1867.5-8.698

FMbII

Blacas Collection

SIZE

H.17.3cm; base of chin to forehead 7.9cm.

CLAY

Very deep red-brown brick colour, traces of orange pigment present, not many inclusions visible, mostly black volcanic particles and mica flakes, smooth to the touch.

ANATOMY

Female head, right side profile, the features are worn, it is badly preserved and damaged. The neck curves out at the front in a half ring base, the veil stands out over the top of the head 17mm.

HAIRSTYLE

The hair, parted in the middle is pulled back in a series of narrow and deep wavy lines covering the ear. The hairstyle is that of F2I.

PARALLELS

This head is the profile version of FMbI and also very close to examples from Fregellae¹⁸.

¹⁷ Coarelli 1986, p.123, pl.LXI, nos.1-2.

¹⁸ Coarelli 1986, type A 2 III, cat.no.698, inv.no.F.631, pl.LX, nos.1-2, pp.122, 214.

FEMALE HALF HEAD VEILED: BM.1867.5-8.699

FMbIII

Blacas Collection

SIZE

H.15.4cm; base of chin to forehead 7.9cm.

CLAY

Very deep red-brown brick colour, traces of red/orange pigment on the surface, smooth to the touch, several inclusions visible, large to fine in size, mostly black volcanic and mica flakes, white shelly particles.

ANATOMY and HAIRSTYLE

Very similar to FMbII. The nose is damaged and part of the back veil is missing. The hairstyle is rendered by tight ringlets as on F4F, the ear is uncovered.

PARALLELS

This half head is the same type of FMbII from a closely related matrix.

FEMALE VEILED HEAD small: BM.1756.1-1.933

FMc

Sloane Collection purchased in 1756. Acquired in Italy by the Abbé Sterbini.

SIZE

H.12cm; max. width across head 7cm; base of chin to forehead 6.3cm; external eye corners 3.8cm; mouth 1.5cm, nose 2.4cm.

CLAY

Pink-creamy colour, surface very darkened by dirt, little inclusions visible mostly black volcanic and mica. Fairly smooth surface.

ANATOMY

Small female head veiled, modelled in the round from a very worn matrix as there is little definition of the hair. The veil is rounded and close to the face and neck, the face is long and narrow, the forehead is high, the chin is rounded. The nose is long and narrow with pointed, turned up tip, the eyes are large, the eyebrows pronounced, the lips are full. The neck is cut to make a simple base on which the head stands.

PARALLELS

This head shows similarities with a small head in Treviso dated to the 3rd century B.C.¹⁹

FEMALE HEAD: BM.1974.8-12.27

FMd

Found unregistered

SIZE

H.19.3cm; base of chin to forehead 14cm; external eye corners 5.5cm; mouth 2.2cm; nose 3cm.

CLAY

Light pink-salmon colour, many inclusions visible, mostly black volcanic (some large lumps), some red pozzolana. Traces of white slip present on the surface.

ANATOMY

Female head of young girl, rendered in the round, very heavy in weight, no obvious sign of joining between back and front mould visible. The face is round and full, the cheeks are broad, the chin is very pronounced and round, the forehead is high and wide. The nose is short with fleshy, slightly flaring nostrils, the small "pouting" mouth has sharply defined full lips. The fairly pronounced eyebrow line is straight and close to the large, elongated eyes, slightly bulbous

¹⁹ Inv.no.DT.46, H.11cm.: Borda 1976, no.159, p.144.

and simplistically rendered with the eyelids forming a sort of frame with sharp external corners. The neck is damaged and is cut off roughly to make a base.

HAIRSTYLE

The hair is a straight "bob" parted in the middle with a small triangular fringe. The hair strands fall uniformly reaching the nape of the neck at the back and at the sides of the face covering the ears. The effect created is that of a solid wig-like mass of hair, in the Egyptian fashion, the details are crudely and simply rendered by straight vertical incisions with a sharp tool. A small vent-hole is present at the top of the neck.

PARALLELS

This head presents some similarities with a head from Cales²⁰.

FEMALE HEAD: BM.1772.3-16.3

FMe

Hamilton Collection, said to be from a tomb in Campania.

SIZE

H.16cm; max. width 9cm; base of chin to forehead 7.5cm; external eye corners 4.6cm; nose 2.6cm; mouth 1.7cm; internal eye corner to ear lobe 3.9cm.

CLAY

Red-brown colour, numerous inclusions visible, mostly black volcanic crystals, several quartz crystals, some white, chalky particles. The uneven firing has produced an external colouring varying from orange to red to dark/black. Surface fairly rough to the touch and slightly powdery, heavy in weight, the walls at the base are c.20mm.

ANATOMY

²⁰ Blazquez 1961, fig.13.

Female head of unnatural look, very large and very round at the top, which resembles a broad cap. The head is almost triangular in shape, larger across the top of the forehead and narrow towards the rounded chin. The eyes, poorly defined, are oblong in shape with marked eyelids, the nose is pronounced with flaring nostrils, the small mouth is only approximately rendered. The ears, exaggeratedly large and projecting at the sides, are pierced by a hole in the middle but no earring is present. Earrings of a different material may have been used, as was common practice on canopic urns. The neck is broad and flares out to form the base on which the head stands.

HAIRSTYLE

The hair is rendered only around the lower part of the head in a crude fashion as a band divided in transverse segments, indicated by shallow incisions in the clay. The crown of the head is high and plain without any attempt to define the hairstyle. There are five holes around the head, one on the top, two at the sides, one at the front just above the band of hair and one just below on the forehead. The position of the five holes is curious and is unlikely to indicate simply air vents, more likely they were made for the insertion of a head-dress or head-ornament of some sort. The possibility of a head-dress fixed to the five holes around the head, would explain the lack of details on the hair that would be mostly covered.

FEMALE VEILED HEAD: BM.1974.8-12.21

FMf

Found unregistered

SIZE

H.24cm; base of chin to forehead 15.9cm; external eye corners 9.6cm; mouth 4.2cm.

CLAY

Pink colour, numerous inclusions visible, mostly black volcanic, quartz, red pozzolana. Heavy in weight, stone-like appearance, surface very rough to the touch.

ANATOMY

Female veiled head, very crudely made, with flat back and round flat face very wide across the forehead, the chin is round and prominent, the cheek bones are totally flattened. The eyes are large and bulbous with prominent eyelids rendered as a contour of incised lines. The nose is large and fleshy, the mouth, which is slightly distorted and turned up at the left corner, is not large but the lips are very full. All the features of the face are uneven and asymmetrical. The ears are covered by the hair, the short neck presents a possible necklace.

HAIRSTYLE

The hair very simply rendered as small lumps of clay positioned all around the face.

FEMALE VEILED HEAD: BM.1982.9-29.8

FMg

No record card.

SIZE

H.22cm; chin to forehead 10cm; external eye corners 6.2cm; nose 3.4cm; mouth 2cm.

CLAY

Deep orange colour, poor clay in bad state of preservation, totally covered in white slip with traces of red pigment. Inclusions difficult to see, some black volcanic particles and mica.

ANATOMY

Very roughly made female head, round face with high, rounded head-dress or veil. Long oval face with sulky expression, the chin is round and not pronounced. The head is slightly tilted to the right, the nose is small, the eyes are large, the mouth small with full lips. The neck is long and slender, the back is flat with a vent hole 3cm in diameter.

HAIRSTYLE

The hair is rendered in tight, short ringlets neatly placed all around the face, but unlike the hairstyle on F4f, it is short to ear level.

GROUP 8

The uniting common element in this group is the beard, displayed on four male heads, three of which, M8a, M8c, M8d, may be from statues.

The facial type, the beard and hair arrangement of head M8a (BM.1974.8-12.22) are very similar to those of M8b (BM.1974.11-7.1) and they probably share a common prototype.

On M8a and M8b the influence of the Severe Style is still visible in the typical circular ringlets and the symmetrical stylization of hair and beard.

On M8a the familiarity of the coroplast with metal-working technique is betrayed by the deep incision of the eyelids and of the eye bulb and by the chiselling of the hair strands. This type of head recalls, in a rather provincial manner, Greek bronze statuary of the 5th century B.C., like the famous bronze from Cape Artemision¹, particularly in the stiffness of the beard, in the long strands joining beard and hair in front of the ears, in the wide, but linear rendering of the eyebrows and the sunken eyeball. The same symmetrical stylized rendering of beard and hair strands can also be seen on a marble head of Aristogeiton in Rome². The confident familiarity with 5th century B.C. Greek works place this head in the late 5th, early 4th centuries B.C.

The veil on M8b is a reminder of the nimb of architectural antefixes, to which this head is very close typologically. Severe artistic tradition is still present in the facial type of the silene and in the beard rendering. The type of this silene can be identified with an antefix from Chiusi dated to the late 5th century B.C.³ A fragment of antefix with silene head, of unknown provenance, in the Museo Nazionale Romano, dated to the late 5th first half 4th centuries B.C., is very similar to M8b and could be derived from the same prototype⁴.

¹ Athens National Museum: Ridgway 1970, figs.98-99.

² Museo dei Conservatori: Ridgway 1970, fig.116.

³ In the Museo Civico, Chiusi: Andren 1940, p.256, no.I:7, pl.87, 310.

⁴ Inv.no.263990: Pensabene-Sanzi Di Mino 1983, III, pl.XIV, no.42.

Stylistically and in the manner of execution, both of features and hair treatment, head M8c (BM.1856.12-26.449) recalls the fine series of bearded, male godly heads from Orvieto, influenced by Attic bronze statuary of the Classical period⁵.

The similarities of features are evident in the volumes of the bone structure, the eyebrow line, the modelling of the eyes and mouth, the rendering of the forehead with the line across it. As with the Orvietan heads, the precise and neat modelling of this head, in this case particularly the sharp delineation of the eyes, reveals the hand of a craftsman versatile in bronze-working technique as in the working of terracotta⁶.

On head M8c the hair is short, as this head suggests an ordinary human, unlike on the Orvieto heads where is long and held by fillet and diadem. The hairstyle on this fine terracotta head clearly appears to have been inspired by Greek art of the Classical period. The treatment of the hair locks with the slight parting over the forehead reflects Polycleitan models.

The contrast between the stylized hair and beard and the naturalistically rendered facial features is noticeable, like the inadequacy of the ears modelling. One possibility that comes to mind, however totally speculative, could be offered by workshop procedures. It may be assumed that, in the better organized set-ups, the chief craftsman carried out the main work, in this case the modelling of the face, and left the less skilled assistants to finish-off the details, such as the hair, beard and ears⁷.

The hook-shaped ringlets on the beard are still a heritage of the Severe style, but on this head the beard is short, with trimmed whiskers, unlike the distinctive Severe beards which are full with long moustache⁸. This trait,

⁵ From Orvieto, Temple of Via S.Leonardo: Andren 1940, pl.59,I:1, pp.193-194; pl.61,I:2, 197; Sprenger 1972, pls. XXVIII.1; XXIX.1-2; XXX.1; XXXI.1; XXXII.1-2; In the British Museum: Girardon 1992, pp.225-229, note 19, pls.I-IV, full bibliography on p.226, note 2.

⁶ Girardon 1992, p.228.

⁷ Chapter 9, paragraph IV.

⁸ As on the Orvieto heads or the bronze statue from Cape Artemision.

together with the Polycleitan hairstyle, is indicative of a later dating for head M8c. A short beard with three rows of tight, short curls and short hairstyle, not dissimilar to that on head M8c, can be found on a votive bronze head from Falterona in the British Museum⁹, probably of Chiusine manufacture, dated c.425-400 B.C., and on the late 5th century B.C. terracotta male head from the temple at *Lo Scasato*, Falerii, in the Villa Giulia Museum¹⁰. A dating in the early 4th century B.C. can be ventured for head M8c.

An interesting, but probably accidental, parallel can be drawn between the hair rendering on M8c and head M9a (BM.1956.6-28.1), where the shape, modelling and arrangement of the locks is very similar, particularly at the back and sides of the head.

There is a striking resemblance of features and "feel" between the type of head M8d (BM.1843.5-7.319) and the Etruscan *nenfro* portrait of *Arnth Paipnas*, from Tarquinia, dated to the early 3rd century B.C.¹¹. Like the votive head, the stone portrait echoes earlier Classical models, particularly evident in the hairstyle. The eyes of the stone bust are incised, as usual in ceramic sculpture and similarly rendered to the eyes of M8d, which has led to suggest that its maker may have been trained in a terracotta workshop, with little experience of work in stone¹². The likeness between the two heads is not confined to the eyes, but can be confronted in most details, such as the flatness of the face planes, the shape of the mouth, the very similar manner of rendering the hair and beard strands, the small ears. The hairstyle displayed on votive head M8d is also paralleled on an Etruscan bronze head in Paris dated to the 3rd-2nd centuries B.C.¹³

⁹ Haynes 1985, no.143, pp.297-8, pl.207.

¹⁰ Santangelo 1948, pp.1-16; Sprenger 1972, pp.47-48, pl.XX, I.

¹¹ Tarquinia Musco Nazionale inv.9820: Giglioli 1935, pl.256, figs.1-2; Kaschnitz-Weinberg 1926, pp.180, 182, fig.18; Brendel 1978, p.399, fig.307; Bianchi Bandinelli-Giuliano 1985, p.287, fig.325.

¹² Brendel 1978, p.399.

¹³ Haynes 1985, no.189, pl.236; Bianchi Bandinelli-Giuliano 1985, fig.290.

BEARDED MALE HEAD: BM.1974.8-12.22

M8a

SIZE

H.31cm; base chin to forehead 18.3cm; external eye corners 10cm; mouth 4cm; nose 4.7cm; internal eye corner to lobe 11cm.

CLAY

Creamy-pink colour, numerous inclusions visible, mostly black volcanic particles, red pozzolana and mica. The surface is dark possibly due to pigment decay.

ANATOMY

Very large and heavy bearded male head, broken at the neck; no obvious sign of joint of front and back mould is visible. The broad face is oval in shape with a low forehead below the hairline. The eyebrows are prominent and linear, the eyes are wide and deep-set, almond-shaped with sharp, slanting outer corners, well defined upper lids and irises incised with circle and dot. The short, almost snub nose presents large fleshy wings with detailed nostrils. The mouth is small with full, parted lips, the upper one is outlined by the hanging whiskers. The large and high ears, present a hole, probably for the escape of air during firing.

HAIRSTYLE and BEARD

The hair is short and arranged in symmetrical, stylized, almost geometrical locks. Over the forehead is a short triangular fringe delineated by vertical incisions. Framing the sides of the face, from the fringe to the ears, is a series of four circular ringlets; two similar ringlets are present on the beard over the chin. The hair in front of the ears mingles with the long strands of the full, rounded beard.

MALE BEARDED HEAD VEILED: BM.1974.11-7.1

M8b

Found unregistered

SIZE

H.24cm; base chin to forehead 16cm; external eye corners 9cm; mouth 3.5cm; nose 4.2cm.

CLAY

Light pink-orange colour, numerous inclusions visible, mostly black volcanic particles, some red pozzolana and little mica. Rough surface to the touch.

ANATOMY

Veiled, bearded head of silene, the features are not too sharp due to wear of the clay, the neck is broken off. The face is oval in shape with a narrow, possibly originally wrinkled, forehead below the hairline. The eyebrows are broad, thick and arched, the eyes are almond-shaped, outlined by thick lids with sharp, slanting outer corners, the irises are rendered by faint circular incisions. The snub nose is straight in profile with large wings and wide nostrils. The mouth is small with full lips slightly parted and curled at the corners, the upper lip is contoured by the moustache. The ears are covered by the mass of hair-curls.

HAIRSTYLE and BEARD

The face is framed by a dense beard and hanging whiskers, reaching from ear to ear as a continuous mass of curling, stylized locks. The veil is a reminder of the nimb of architectural antefixes, to which this head is very close typologically.

The type of this silene can be identified with an antefix from Chiusi dated to the late 5th century B.C.¹⁴ A fragmentary antefix with silene head, of unknown provenance, in the Museo Nazionale Romano, dated to the late 5th, first half 4th centuries B.C., is very close to M8b and could be derived from the same prototype¹⁵.

¹⁴ Chiusi Musco Civico: Andren 1940, p.256, no.I:7, pl.87, 310.

¹⁵ Inv.no.263990: Pensabene-Sanzi Di Mino 1983, III, pl.XIV, no.42.

Temple Bequest. Said to be from Calvi

SIZE

H.23cm; base chin to forehead 18cm; external eye corners 9.5cm; mouth 3.8cm; internal eye corner to ear lobe 10.2cm.

CLAY

Dark orange in colour, numerous inclusions visible, mostly mica and quartz crystals, some black volcanic particles and red pozzolana. Traces of red pigment survive on the hair.

ANATOMY

Very fine bearded male head, possibly not a votive, maybe part of architectural decoration. The head appears to have been modelled in one piece with the separate addition of hair and beard; the hair is damaged, as are the nose and neck. The head is well proportioned with evidenced bone structure, particularly the cheek bones and the occipital bone. The face is oval in shape with a wide forehead where the furrow of the bone across it is well evidenced. The eyebrows are pronounced and linear, the eyes, with a downward gaze, are almond-shaped with sharp outer and inner corners, well defined upper and lower lids and pupils rendered by incised circle and dot. The nose is long, damaged across the bridge, with fleshy nostrils. The mouth, gaping open as in amazement, is fairly wide with full, well shaped, lips. The ears are very large and considering the quality of the modelling of this head, poorly rendered.

HAIRSTYLE and BEARD

The hair is short, defined by carefully arranged locks in ringlets over the forehead where they part slightly, and in front of the ears. On the top of the head the hair is much damaged, but it was probably ordered in neat rows of S-shaped locks, as on the back of the head where they reach the nape of the neck. Details are added to the individual curls by incision. The ears are left uncovered. The beard merges with the side curls in front of the ears, at the sides formed by two series of short, hook-shaped curls, on the chin is damaged

and partly missing. The mouth is encircled by curving moustache incised with parallel lines.

MALE BEARDED HEAD:BM.1843.5-7.319

M8d

Belmore Collection

SIZE

H.26cm; max.width 18cm; base of chin to forehead 15.3cm; external eye corners 7.8cm; mouth 3cm; nose 5.4cm; tip of nose to ear lobe 12.6cm; internal eye corner to ear lobe 10cm.

CLAY

Pink orange colour, darker core, numerous inclusions visible, fine to coarse in size mostly black volcanic particles, some mica, some white shelly particles, little pozzolana, some greenish crystals. Traces of red pigment surviving.

ANATOMY

Large and heavy male head broken at the neck. The face is broad and oval in shape with flat cheek-bones, more rounded at the top of the head with a narrow, low forehead. The small, rounded eyes under the linear, little pronounced eyebrows, are close-set and staring ahead; the irises are rendered by incised circle and dot, the sunken upper eyelids are emphasized by deep incisions in the clay. The nose is long and straight with very fleshy tip and wings; the mouth is small with well defined lips. The small flapping ears are quite prominently featured.

HAIRSTYLE

The hair and beard are neatly arranged; the hair is short and, from the crown of the head, follows closely the shape of the skull in a series of overlapping, flame-like tufts. Over the forehead is a fringe, slightly parting in the middle in Polycleitan fashion. At the sides the hair locks form a series of tendrils curling inwards over the face. The clipped beard clings to the chin and cheeks in flame-

like bristles, the moustache is little emphasised. The hair and the beard do not mingle in one mass, but are two separate features.

GROUP 9

Amongst the votive terracotta heads, at times examples of almost true "portraits" can be recognised. In the British Museum collection is one such head, referred to in publications as one of the earliest Italic portraits¹.

On M9a (BM.1956.6-28.1), all the features are emphasised conferring to the head a slightly vulgar appearance and, although this is one of the best examples of votive "portraiture" known, giving the impression that each individual feature, the large nose, the wart, the deeply outlined eyes with heavy lids, the wide mouth, the incised line across the forehead, is separately viewed. The man portrayed stands out, not because of nobility or intellectual superiority radiating from his features, but rather because of the earthly, strongly physical nature of his looks. He is obviously not a ruler of nations but a man engaged in material pursuits, such as farming or commerce.

Yet there is a depth in the gaze of those heavy lidded, slanting eyes, a seriousness in the countenance of the features, that makes one forget their apparent vulgarity. The true nature of this head as a portrait has been debated and often rejected; however, there is an undeniable uniqueness about the traits of this face². Looking at this head comes natural to complement on the missing details: the nose for example, swollen and ungainly, can be pictured as

¹ Steingraber 1980, p.252, pl.79, no.3; Dohrn 1958, p.57, fig.33.

² In his study of Etruscan Art, discussing terracotta votive heads in relation to early portraiture, O.Brendel writes: "...one receives the impression that their makers approached their task in a spirit of realism which tends to describe persons as a special offshoot of the common stock, each distinguished from others by his own native looks; a frank interest in the external aspects of personality is unmistakable. Yet it has been shown that in the workshops which produced these heads the same mould was used, with a few hurried changes, to shape the faces of young men...or an old man with a stippled beard, or a woman... this rather superficial manner of adopting a performed model to individual needs was standard procedure...in no way, under this piecemeal procedure, could a living face be conceived and rendered in its wholeness. We may still consider the outcome a portrait of a kind; but its claim to personal similitude and exclusiveness must fall short of modern expectations...The simple portrait which deals with the variety of human faces as a natural fact and a matter of interest on its own merits, regardless of social status, hardly had any place in ancient art before the Romans...the alleged portraits may have been - and often were - fictitious rather than true likenesses. The paradox is that, simultaneous with a declared bent for the atypical and the real, one senses in much Etruscan portraiture a widespread indifference towards the unique and unrepeatable qualities of human physiognomies." Brendel 1978, pp.393-394.

reddened and crossed by a web of faint, little capillaries. Not to mention the broad mouth, so ugly and so realistic and the narrow eyes with their slightly mean and surreptitious expression.

This head is certainly not mass-produced, and the general criteria used for votive head manufacturing, made from mould used over and over again, at times altered to make new ones, is not applicable to this head. M9a is a unique, specially made composition. This piece witnesses the work of no mediocre artist, certainly of Italic origin, as any trace of hellenic influence is absent, capable of capturing in the physiognomy of a person the right measure of individuality.

Head M9a is carefully finished, every single lock of hair at the back of the head is fastidiously accurate and neatly arranged, indicating that this piece was meant to be free standing and seen from all angles.

The observations made for another Italic terracotta votive head in Berlin by R.Bianchi Bandinelli, are befitting M9a, also saturated of that direct, brutal representation of reality typical of middle-Italic imagery³. The extensive use of the *stecca* to indicate details, such as the hair on the eyebrows or the furrow on the forehead, is distinctive of the Italic artistic tradition in terracotta, adding to the vitality of the object, as Bandinelli says: "...tradisce il gusto al particolare colto dal vero, alla freschezza dell'impressione..."⁴. We are faced, therefore, not with the inability to create plastic forms, but rather with an almost photographic, instant capture of the essence of the subject.

To suggest a dating for head M9a is baffling, as no particular stylistic comparisons can be drawn. This head is generally ascribed to the late 3rd century B.C., on the ground of its portrait-like quality and absence of Classical influence. The hairstyle on this head is the only element to give a clue to its date: the short-cropped style with compact fringe over the forehead is indeed typical of Middle Italic artistic tradition, from the late 4th to the 2nd centuries

³ Bianchi Bandinelli 1973, pp.188-191.

⁴ Bianchi Bandinelli 1973, p.191.

B.C. On head M9a this hairstyle is rendered in a manner very similar to a votive bronze head in Florence of late 4th century date⁵.

Interesting is also the comparison with the hair rendering on M8c, where the locks and strands of the hairstyle, particularly at the back and sides of the head, are fashioned in a very similar manner. However near, this comparison is likely to be purely accidental, given the probable chronological difference between the two heads.

MALE HEAD: BM.1956.6-28.1

M9a

On display in the British Museum's galleries.

Dimensions and clay composition not available; however, the clay of this head appears, at glance, similar to that of other heads in the British Museum's collection of probable Caeretan origin as, for example, head F6aI.

ANATOMY

Head of middle aged man, lifesize and very realistic. The head is modelled in the round with profusion of details on face and hair, indicating that the object was meant to be viewed from all sides. The head is resting on a wide ring base developed from the sturdy neck that broadens at shoulder level. The head is quite large, rounded and strong, the back of the cranium projects staunchly and the vault of the skull, at the top of the head, is wide and proportioned. The bone structure of the oval, irregular face is very marked and striking with high, emphasised cheek-bones and broad, jutting chin. The forehead is low but broad, mostly covered by a fringe of S-shaped locks. The brows are thick and closely overhanging the eyes with a pair of bushy eyebrows delineated by shallow, diagonal, incisions. The eyes are narrow and oblong in shape with deeply incised rims, heavy, half lowered upper lids and swelling under-eyes area. The slanting shape of the eyes with direct gaze confers to this head an intense expression that pervades the whole face and distances it from the other votive heads. The nose is very large and sits prominently in the middle of the

⁵ Chapter 8, paragraph III, note 87.

face; it is not particularly long but is wide across the bridge with fleshy wings and pronounced tip. In the space between the right nostril and the upper lip rests a large circular wart. The mouth is considerable in size, very wide in length with fairly thick lips, particularly the lower one, well shaped and protruding, almost hanging downwards. The upper lip overlaps the lower lip and turns around it at the corners which are deeply indented, adding to the distinctive sullen demeanour of this head. The lines at the sides of the nose and mouth, under the eyes, on the forehead and at the sides of the jaw-bone are conspicuous and well achieved. The ears are proportioned to the rest of the features and fairly accurately rendered, the tops are partly hidden by the hair strands. The neck is broad and anatomically accurate with Adam's apple and collar-bone represented.

HAIRSTYLE

The hairstyle is short with neat, curly strands placed all around the head and over the forehead in a regular fringe. The strands are fairly thick and S-shaped, tapering at the ends with little pointed curls that, on the forehead, are placed in a row just above the line running across the middle of it. On the sides the hair strands are only partly in front and over the ears. On the top of the head and behind the locks are, at times, slightly longer and more twisted, covering the entire head in a soft mass of curls. The details of each individual strand are carefully added by incisions with a sharply pointed tool on the still soft clay. The attractive, youthful hairstyle with a full head of thick curls is quite in contrast with the stern looks of the middle aged, coarse face of this head.

GROUP 10

This group comprises four heads, associated by a common prototype and similar hairstyle. Three of the heads also share the same type and related matrices.

The first head type is M10a (BM.1839.2-14.17). A very similar group of heads of the same type, presumably derived from closely related matrices of Caeretan origin is in the MGE¹.

Hafner identifies "at first sight", for the heads in the Vatican, the influence of Polykleitan art, which he perceives in the short hair-locks, in the expression and in the slender proportions of the head. However, he also recognises a likeness with other Greek works representing the athlete type, specifically with the copy of the Discobolus Ludovisi in the Vatican attributed to Pythagoras of Rhegium². The resemblance, particularly in profile, with the Ludovisi Discobolus is indeed noticeable. According to Dörig the prototype for this statue has to be attributed to the sculptor of the Kladeos of the East pediment at Olympia, which shows the same bold, intense expression³. The influence of Laconian art spread to Italy via Tarentum and from there to Etruria and the rest of central Italy.

The type of the Discobolus seems indubitably to be the model for this head, as some resemblance can be suggested even with Myron's Discobolus. Particularly akin are two copies, the Discobolus Lancelotti in the Munich Glyptotek and the copy in the Vatican Museums⁴. The strong, masculine features, the short-

¹ Inv.nos.13870, 13984, 13973: Hafner 1966-7, pl.6, nos.1-2; also one example in Pavia, ex-Vatican collection: Invernizzi-Tomaselli-Zezza 1983, T1, pp.18-19.

² Pythagoras of Rhegium, native of Samos was active between 490-448 B.C.; several statues of his are mentioned by Pliny: XXXIV, 59, and by Pausanias: VI, 13, I. It has not been possible, so far, to attribute any extant sculptures to Pythagoras with confidence. Paribeni 1953, p.16, no.9; Hafner 1966-7, pp.32-31; Ridgway 1970, p.83, fig.119; Inan 1970, pp.17-33, pls.11-12; Dörig 1987, p.24, no.18, pls.65, 68, 70, 72.

³ Dörig 1987, p.24, no.18, pls.65, 68, 70, 72.

⁴ Arias 1940, pl.1; Kaschnitz-Weinberg 1937, pl.XVII, no.55.

cropped hair with tight little curls, the elongated eyeliner, the flaring nostrils, the sensual full lips, are features in common with the best copies of the Discobolus. On the Vatican copy a detail of the hairstyle seems to confirm the affinity between the terracotta head and the most famous Discobolus: at the sides, in front of the ears, a triangular area of ringlets is paralleled almost exactly. However, on the votive head it is simplified and more linear. This detail is important for dating purposes, as it is found on several representations of male profiles of 4th century B.C.⁵

An Etruscan votary, the so-called Sciarra bronze youth, in the Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, is perceived by Hafner as the link between Greek Severe art, as represented by the Discobolus Ludovisi, and the Etruscan-Italic world⁶. The statue, found in Rome where it was probably made around 460-450 B.C., is regarded as a regional attempt to Etruscan Classicism. The resemblance between the bronze and the Ludovisi Discobolus is evident; in turn the head of the bronze youth shows, if only in the outline of the hairline and in the sternness of features, a certain affinity with the type of head M10a, but probably not as immediate as Hafner postulates. The influence of Greek art absorbed by central Italian areas, via Magna Graecia, is adopted here to a more modest use and medium, with the addition of a good dose of local, provincial character.

A dating in the late 5th century B.C., as suggested by Hafner, is too high for this votive head⁷. Similarities in rendering and attributes can be established with other local art forms, of 4th century B.C., particularly with some small bronzes where the figures often display comparable hairstyle and features⁸. However,

⁵ See note 8 for details.

⁶ Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek inv.no.2235: Riis 1941, pp.29-30, 165; Poulsen F. 1951, pp.45-46, no.28; Poulsen V. 1962, figs.459-60, pl.50; Gjodesen M. 'First Sciarra Bronze' *Meddelelser fra Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek*, XXVII, 1970, pp.11-75; Brendel 1978, pp.306-308, nos.225-6.

⁷ Hafner 1966-7, pp.32.

⁸ For example the central figure on the foot of the mid- 4th century B.C. *Cista Ficoroni*: Giglioli 1935, pl.290, fig.2; Dohrn 1972, pp.10-11, pls. 26, 29; Brendel 1978, fig.288. The figure of a mid 4th century B.C. Discobolus on a censer base: Rome Villa Giulia inv.no.1720: Dohrn in Helbig *Führer*, III, 625, no.2682; Giglioli 1935, pl.311, fig.3; Brendel 1978, fig.257. The central figure on a mirror representing Talos wrestling with the sons of Boreas, of late 5th century B.C.: Berlin-Charlottenburg, Staatliche Museen,

unlike other votive heads that combine Classical elements with Hellenistic traits, on this head only the Classical and local components are present. The absence of influence from Hellenistic types, suggests a date not later than the middle of the 4th century B.C., prior to the overwhelming popularity of the Hellenistic models.

Heads M10bI (BM.1839.2-14.7), M10bII (BM.1839.2-14.6) and M10bIII (BM.1839.2-14.10) belong to the same type and related, but modified, matrices. In the MGE are a number of closely comparable heads of the same type from Caere⁹. The affinity with the type of M10a and the common prototype, is still visible on M10bI, particularly in the hairline over the forehead, the shape of the forehead, the strong, high cheek-bones and the protruding ears.

Some of these features can still be observed on M10bII; however the face contour is smoother and the hair rendering is modified with the absence of the hump of the hairline.

Head M10bIII is a further modification of the type, with faded features and leaner face, but with the return of the evidenced hairline.

A votive stone head in Palestrina, believed to be from a full size statue dated to the second half of the 4th century B.C., presents remarkable typological affinities with the votive heads of type M10b¹⁰. The calcar head, although much damaged, resembles closely head M10bI in physiognomy. They both have a quality of sternness that makes them look as cut out of the rock, in one block, not unlike Egyptian sculptures. They share the same heavy features, particularly the thick, almost negroid, lips, the over-wide staring eyes, the round face with resolute chin, the low, slightly frowning brow, the long nose with fleshy nostrils

Antikenabteilung, inv.no.30480: Curtius L. *Archäologischer Anzeiger* LXIII-LXIV, 1948-9, nos.57-64; Brendel 1978, fig.287. The lock of hair in front of the ear of Talos is comparable with similar feature on the figure on the *Cista Ficoroni* and on other profile heads of young men from the second half of the 4th century B.C. onward.

⁹ Inv.nos.13873, 13976: Hafner 1966-7, pl.9, nos.1, 3-4; Vessberg 1941, p.176, pl.XXI, nos.3, 4.

¹⁰ West 1933, pl.VII, no.23; Kaschnitz-Weinberg 1926, pp.183-184, fig.20; Vessberg 1941, pl.XXI, nos.1-2.

and the high ears. Even the hair rendering of the stone sculpture seems to be repeated on the terracotta. On the side of the face, in front of the ear, is a longer lock of hair highlighted by linear incisions; M10bI, M10bII and M10bIII show faintly, but unmistakably, similar longer strands, indicated by incisions in front of the ears running towards the cheeks. This detail can perhaps be interpreted as the triangular area of ringlets discussed for head M10a. The correspondence between M10bI and the calcar head fragment from Palestrina, indicates a common prototype and a close relationship in terms of date and production.

Of the three variations of this type, the later, inferior M10bIII, seems to be the most commonly reproduced: a group of terracotta votive statues wearing a toga, in some cases modified by a balding head, are derived from the same prototype and directly related matrices¹¹.

The hairstyle of this type of votive heads, common in the 3rd and 2nd centuries B.C., follows in the tradition of middle-Italic votive bronzes of the late Classical period like, like the naked youth from Sarteano in the British Museum, dated to c.400-350 B.C.¹², culminating, in the first quarter of the 2nd century B.C., with the full-size votive bronze statue of the so-called *Arringatore*¹³.

MALE HEAD: BM.1839.2-14.17

M10a

Campanari Collection

SIZE

¹¹ Hafner 1969, pp.23-43, pls.8-24; MGE inv.no.13868; Hafner 1966-7, pl.9, no.2.

¹² Probably of north Etruscan manufacture; the head of the bronze presents the cap-like striated hair, a sullen face with wide brows, large eyes, short nose and full lips: BM.no.65.7-12.12; Walters 1899, no.611; Haynes 1985, p.302, no.155.

¹³ Particularly for the tight-fitting, but compact, hair arrangement: Dohrn 1968; Fittschen 1970, p.177ff.; Colonna 1976-7, p.61ff.; Brendel 1978, p.430-432; Cristofani 1979, p.4ff.; Cristofani 1985, no.129; *Santuari d'Etruria*, p.394, no.19.1; Colonna 1991, pp.99-122.

H.28cm; base chin to forehead 16cm; mouth 4.4cm; external eye corners 9cm; internal eye corner to ear lobe 9.5cm.

CLAY

Pale creamy colour, numerous inclusions visible, fine in size with a few larger lumps, mostly black volcanic particles, quartz crystals, red pozzolana. Traces of red pigment survive on the surface.

ANATOMY

Large male head modelled in the round with short neck. The head is wide and exactly round at the top, with its broadest point between the ears. The face is round and regular with narrow forehead crossed by a line and slight swelling of the occipital bone, the cheek bones are high and only slightly evidenced, the chin is short and rounded. The deep, but little emphasised, eyebrows are set closely to the eyes which are narrow and almond-shaped, enclosed by fairly thick eyelids with sharp corners. The gaze of the eyes is fixed ahead but slightly downcast. The nose is short and straight with a wide bridge and fleshy wings; between the forehead and the ridge of the nose is a marked depression. The mouth is broad with shapely, full, parted lips slightly curling up at the corners. The upper lip is placed quite close to the nose, between the nose and the middle of the upper lip is a deep indentation. The roughly sketched ears are large and rather protruding to the sides.

HAIRSTYLE

The hair is rendered as a tight fitting cap that follows the shape of the skull leaving the ears uncovered and forming a semicircular arch over the forehead. Little detail of the hairstrands is offered by shallow incisions from the crown of the head forwards. At the sides, in front of the ears, are a series of ringlets forming a triangular-shaped area pointing towards the cheeks. At the back of the head and on the neck the hair strands are rendered simply by shallow, linear incisions.

In the MGE is a series of heads from Caere belonging to the same type and derived from very close matrices¹⁴. One head from the same series, ex-Vatican collection, is now in Pavia in the University Museum¹⁵.

MALE HEAD:BM.1839.2-14.7

M10bI

Campanari Collection

SIZE

H.36.5cm; max.width 25cm; base of chin to forehead 19.5cm; external eye corners 12cm; nose to ear lobe 12.8cm; internal eye corner to ear lobe 6.6cm; mouth 5.3cm; ear 8cm.

CLAY

Pale creamy colour, numerous inclusions visible fine to coarse in size, mostly black augite, quartz crystals, red/brown pozzolana. Surface smooth to the touch, traces of red pigment survive on face, ears and neck.

ANATOMY

Head and neck of youth modelled in the round. The face is oval and long with low forehead, strong and pronounced jaw-line, high, flat cheek-bones and strong, round chin. The brow line is straight and pronounced turning downwards at the external corners. The eyes are large, elongated, bulging and rimmed by heavily marked eyelids, particularly the upper ones. The internal eye corners, especially the left one, are sharply emphasised and pointing downwards; the external eye corners are also sharp and the thick upper lids overlap the lower at the corners. The damaged nose is long, broad with wide,

¹⁴ Inv.no.13973: Hafner 1966-7, pl.6, nos.1-2.

Also MGE inv.no.13870, which is particularly similar to M10a in look and size and is probably from the same generation matrix, and MGE inv.no.13984. According to Hafner it is a numerous group including half heads, but in the course of my own visits to the MGE, I have noticed only the three examples listed above.

¹⁵ H.26cm, chin to forehead 15cm, inv.no.82/1: Invernizzi-Tomaselli-Zezza 1983, pp.18-19, T1.

fleshy wings and large nostrils. The mouth is large with thick lips, slightly negroid in shape; the upper lip turns up at the corners conferring a sombre expression to the face. The large ears protrude considerably at the sides of the face and are placed high and well towards the back of the head. The neck is stout and long, terminating just above shoulder level into a wide, ring-base.

HAIRSTYLE

The short hairstyle is indicated by shallow incisions running forward over the forehead and above the ears. The hair line over the forehead is emphasized by a raised edge and a scanty fringe is indicated by shallowly incised strands. At the sides of the face, in front of the ears, a series of slightly longer strands reach the cheeks.

MALE HEAD: BM.1839.2-14.6

M10bII

Campanari Collection

SIZE

H.39.5cm; base of chin to forehead 17cm; external eye corners 10.6cm; nose to ear lobe 10.7cm; eye to ear lobe 56mm; max.width 16cm; mouth 4.9cm; ear 6cm.

CLAY

Light creamy colour, surface smooth to the touch, numerous inclusions visible very fine to medium in size, mostly black augite, red/brown pozzolana, some mica. Very heavy in weight.

ANATOMY

Large head and shoulders of youth modelled in the round. Round face, high but not pronounced cheek bones, spacious forehead, rounded, pronounced, slightly slanting chin. The linear, straight and pronounced brows are thicker at the outer corners; the eyes are wide-set, slightly bulging with pronounced eyelids, large and slightly elongated in shape with prominently marked outer corners. The nose is long and straight with fleshy, wide wings and evidenced nostrils.

The full, sensual mouth curls upwards at the corners, with M-shaped upper lip and pouting lower lip. The depression between the nose and upper lip is pronounced, as is the depression between the lower lip and the chin. The ears, roughly made from a separate mould, are large, highly placed and protruding conspicuously at the sides. The neck is long and slender, the shoulders are rounded and wide, made into a sort of bust on which the head and neck stand.

HAIRSTYLE

The cranium is well rounded and smooth with the short hair indicated simply by shallow incisions combed forward over the forehead in a scanty fringe. At the sides of the head, above the ears and at the back the hair is combed straight and close to the head terminating just below the nape of the neck. The same longer side strands in front of the ears, as on M10bI, are present on this head. At the top of the head is a small vent-hole less than 1cm in diameter.

MALE HEAD: BM.1839.2-14.10

M10bIII

Campanari Collection

SIZE

H.29.5cm; base of chin to forehead 16.5cm; external eye corners 11cm; internal eye corner to ear lobe 9cm; mouth 4.5cm.

CLAY

Pale creamy colour, few inclusions visible on the surface medium to fine in size, mostly black augite and red/brown pozzolana. Traces of red pigment surviving on the surface.

ANATOMY

Male head rendered in the round with fairly long neck terminating into a ring base. The head is much broader at the top, across the forehead and the vault of the cranium is less rounded than on M10bI and M10bII. The face is oval in shape with broad forehead, flat cheeks and short chin slightly slanting in profile. The long eyebrows are straight and linear, placed very closely to the large eyes

outlined by heavy eyelids with sharply marked outer corners. The left eye is slightly larger and rounder. The nose is long and straight forming, in profile, a continuous line with the forehead, the nostrils are wide with fleshy, flaring wings.

The large mouth is placed close to the nose, with very thick protruding lips, slightly pouting, conferring to the face a sullen expression. The one remaining, roughly made, right ear is very large and sticking out at the side; on the left side a large "scar" shows where the ear was applied to the head.

HAIRSTYLE

The short hair is fashioned as a cap around the forehead and is smoothed over the back and the top of the head; the hair-strands are indicated by linear incisions in the clay running from the back to the forehead. In front of the ears is a tuft of hair emphasised by incisions.

PARALLELS

In the MGE are two heads from Cerveteri almost identical to M10bIII, presumably from closely related matrix¹⁶

¹⁶ Inv.nos.13874, 13873, 13976: Hafner 1966-7, pl.9, nos.1, 3-4; Vessberg 1941, pl.XXII, nos.3-4.

GROUP 11

This group includes four heads connected by a common prototype: **M11a** (BM.1839.2-14.23), **M11bI** (1974.8-12.23), **M11bII** (1974.8-12.14) and **M11c** (BM.1974.8-12.5).

Head **M11a**¹ is the best example in the group, the one that shows a direct link to the original prototype. The rendering of this head is pleasing and skilled, revealing the understanding of the artist for bronze-working techniques. Head **M11a** is inspired by Etruscan bronze sculpture, in particularly evident is the affinity with the famous votive head of a boy from a statue in the Museo Archeologico in Florence, dated c.320-250 B.C.² The resemblance between the two heads is remarkable, both in style and in details, even if the terracotta is a "simplified" version. Both heads share a certain cubic quality in their proportions, the close fitting cap of the hair, treated as a series of overlapping, lanceolate strands falling on the forehead and temples in a serrated fringe is similarly rendered. On both heads the well-shaped ears are set quite low and the left eye is a little larger and higher than the right one. On both heads, at the side of the face in front the ears, is present the triangular-shaped area of hair already encountered on the heads of Group 10.

The type of head **M11bI** is clearly derived from that of **M11a**, which it closely resembles. However, **M11bI** is an unrefined piece and the faded details reveal, in spite of its larger size, a much-used matrix. This type is a reasonably popular one in Latium where numerous examples are known, including later, much debased derivatives obtained from the same original group of matrices, like **M11bII**.

M11c is, at first sight quite different in look from the preceding heads. Nonetheless, at close scrutiny, it is possible to determine that, in spite of its large size, rougher appearance and more "mature" age group, the prototype is

¹ West 1933, p.25, pl.VI, no.17.

² Inv.no.548, H.23cm: Giglioli 1935, pl.366, fig.I; Kaschnitz-Weinberg 1926, pls.1-2, nos.1-2; Brendel 1978, p.398, fig.305; Cristofani 1985, p.297, no.122; Haynes 1985, p.318, no.190.

still the same. The hairstyle is also the same, rendered in the same manner with the stringy, linear strands over the forehead and at the sides of the face. The analogy of prototype is perceived most in the shape of the mouth with the deep notch between the lower lip and the chin, in the long nose, the oblong eyes with close brow, the high cheek-bones and the narrow forehead covered by the boyish fringe.

The types of M11a and M11bI are close to the prototype and its original model; however, a variety of head types, some much debased and hardly recognisable as derived from these, are known³. The identifying elements are always the hairstyle, the full face, the eye-shape, the small, parted mouth, the protruding ears and their juvenile, childish appearance. A probable link is also to be found between this group and other groups of slightly more "mature" heads, like Group 13 and Group 14. On the heads belonging to these groups the hairstyle differs, influenced by Classical and Hellenistic styles, but an unmistakable likeness of features with M11a and M11bI can be observed.

HEAD OF YOUTH: BM.1839.2-14.23

M11a

Campanari Collection

SIZE

H.14cm; base of chin to forehead 9cm; external eye corners 5.7cm; mouth 2.2cm; internal eye corner to ear lobe 4.9cm.

CLAY

Pink-orange colour, pale creamy on the surface with traces of white slip surviving, numerous inclusions visible mostly red/brown pozzolana and a little grit. Surface smooth to the touch.

³ From Anagni: Mazzolani 1969, fig.151; from Minerva Medica: Gatti Lo Guzzo 1978, pl.XXXIX, G XVIII; from Tarquinia: Comella 1982, b-B1II; from Cales: Blazquez 1963, figs.14, 15; one head in the Leiden Museum said to be from San Giorgio in Calabria: inv.no.14-1887, blz.40-41.

ANATOMY

Small head of boy of good manufacture, modelled in the round, no evident juncture between front and back mould is visible, broken at the neck. The head is perfectly rounded, particularly at the top and back of the head, the face is round, slightly more pointed at the pronounced chin, the forehead is narrow and mostly covered by the fringe, the cheek-bones are high but not evidenced, the jaw line is also not defined under the youthful fullness of the features. The eyebrows are arched, linear and set closely to the wide, almond-shaped eyes; the eyelids are narrow and delineate by incised margins. The nose is straight, well proportioned forming a continuous line with the forehead and slightly turning up at the tip. The wings of the nose are wide and slightly flaring, bordered by profound side indentations and the nostrils are marked by deep dents. The well-shaped mouth is small with full, parted lips, particularly the lower one; the gap between the lips is quite wide and deep. The upper lip curls up at the corners drawing also slightly up the cheeks. The entirely exposed ears are rendered in detail, slightly projecting to the sides and with wide lobes.

HAIRSTYLE

The hair is rendered as a tight fitting cap of straight, overlapping, lanceolate strands falling in orderly manner on the forehead, in a full, compact fringe, at the sides and back of the head. The details of each strand is highlighted by deep and shallow incisions in the clay with the point of a sharp tool.

VEILED HEAD OF YOUTH: BM.1974.8-12.23

M11bI

Found unregistered

SIZE

H.28.5cm; base of chin to forehead 11cm; external eye corners 7cm; nose 4.2cm; mouth 2.7cm; internal eye corner to ear lobe 6.7cm.

CLAY

Deep orange colour, numerous inclusions visible on the darkened surface, fine to medium in size, mostly black volcanic particles and fine quartz crystals. Surface rough to the touch with traces of decayed red pigment.

ANATOMY

Head and shoulder of veiled youth with slightly squashed back; the veil frames the head and shoulder standing up around it some 1.5cm in the fashion of an antefix. The front mould includes the face, ears, hair and shoulders, the rear mould forms the veil. The head is rounded with full face and prominent, pointed chin, the forehead is narrow, mostly covered by the fringe and the cheek-bones are high but flat. The eyebrows are thickened and prominent, the eyes are wide, elongated in shape and slightly protruding with poorly defined lids that do not meet at the external corners. The nose is long and straight, slightly up-turned, the mouth is small with full, parted lips. The ears are large and projecting at the sides. The neck is long and slender, the shoulder is narrow and rounded. Inside the neck is an added mass of clay for re-enforcing the junction with the back mould.

HAIRSTYLE

As on M11a the hairstyle is rendered as a uniform cap of straight, individual strands falling in a long fringe on the forehead and at the sides in front of the ears.

PARALLELS

From Lavinium are several examples of this type derived from related matrices⁴. In the Museo Civico at Velletri is one example of this type⁵.

⁴ La Regina in *Lavinium* 1975, half heads C145, p.233, fig.319, H.26.5cm, and C144, p.236, fig.321, H.25.5cm; *Enea nel Lazio*, p.182, D 41; p.268, D 272. Also from the same deposit full head inv.no.P77.113, H.30cm.

⁵ Fortunati 1986, p.182, pl.XIX, III.2, p.95.

VEILED HEAD OF YOUTH: BM.1974.8-12.14

M11bII

Found unregistered

SIZE

H.22cm; base of chin to forehead 8.7cm; distance of external eye corners 4.4cm; nose 2.9cm; mouth 2.1cm; internal eye corner to ear lobe 5.6cm.

CLAY

Deep orange colour on the surface with grey core, numerous inclusions visible, mostly black volcanic crystals, some red pozzolana, mica and quartz crystals. Poor quality clay full of cracks.

ANATOMY and HAIRSTYLE

Small, veiled head and shoulder of boy, with faded features as obtained from well-used, late generation matrix derived from M11bI. The description of the features of M11bI is also appropriate for this head; on M11bII the eyes are slightly more downturned at the external corners and the mouth is curled up at the corners in a smile. The hairstyle is the same as on M11bI, with the strands less differentiate.

PARALLELS

This is the of M11bI from a later generation matrix. Examples closely comparable to M11bII come from a votive deposit at Albano, also of analogous clay composition⁶.

MALE HEAD: BM.1974.8-12.5

M11c

Found unregistered

⁶ Chiarucci 1993, figs.3-4, pp.271-276. The clay is red with numerous inclusions, mostly mica, augite and pozzolana.

SIZE

H.29cm; base of chin to forehead 16cm; external eye corners 9.5cm; mouth 4.3cm; nose 5.5cm; internal eye corner to ear lobe 10cm.

CLAY

Pink-orange to creamy colour internally, dark surface possibly due to decayed pigmentation. Only few black volcanic inclusions visible. Surface smooth to the touch.

ANATOMY

Large male head, modelled in the round, of coarse manufacture. The head is rounded particularly at the top, but the back is slightly squashed and not detailed. The face is broad and rounded in shape, the forehead is narrow, mostly covered by a fringe, the cheek-bones are high, the chin is prominent and dimpled. The eyebrows are wide, linear and pronounced, set closely to the elongated eyes defined by narrow eyelids; the external corners of the eyebrows and of the eyes are joined by slits in the clay. The eyes seem to be gazing downwards. The nose is long, narrow and slightly aquiline with pointed tip; the mouth is fairly large with parted full lips. Between the lower lip and the chin is a deep hollow. The protruding ears are barely delineate. The neck is broad and turns out into a ring base.

HAIRSTYLE

The hair is rendered as a tight fitting cap of straight individual strands falling in a fringe over the forehead and at the sides in front of the ears. The strands are indicated by deep, rough incisions in the clay; at the back of the head the hair is not indicated, the clay of the rear mould is simply smoothed to form a globular shape.

GROUP 12

Group 12 includes three heads, M12aI (BM.1814.7-4.898), M12aII (BM.1974.8-12.7) and M12b (1982.9-29.1). These heads are connected by a likeness of physiognomy, not evident at first sight, which intimates a common prototype. The hairstyle and character of M12aI and M12aII appertain to the middle-Italic artistic tradition, like the previous group, which suggest a dating in the middle of the 3rd century B.C. Head M12b is an example of a later type.

M12aI and M12aII belong to the same type and are probably derived from related, even if modified, matrices. Their analogy is particularly evident in profile, where the two heads, in spite of the damaged nose of M12aII, definitely coincide. On M12aI the features are sharply sculptured, almost as if cast in bronze. This metal-like quality, the solid feel conveyed by the entirety of the head, including the heavy veil, is emphasised in the compact rendering of the hair strands, the chiselled contour of the nose and eyes, the deep cutting of the mouth outline. There is also something vaguely Severe about this head, mostly imparted by the rigidity of the hairstyle, that contrast sharply with the presence of the Roman-style *velum*. Head M12aI shows a certain stylistic familiarity with the type of the female head F2a, particularly in the stylized, wig-like hair rendering, the rectangular shape of the face, the pleasing nose-brow line, the strong, heavy jaw. The rotundity of the head at the back also suggests an affinity between the two types.

The veil is not present on head M12aII, a more delicate version of the type. The stiff fringe of M12aI is replaced by a flimsy, slightly parted, series of locks falling on the forehead. Unlike the previous example, where the hair was a solid mass of curls, on this head the strands are almost only indicated by shallow incisions. The rendering of the hairstyle contributes to impart a lighter, softer character to M12aII.

M12b presents the same hair rendering, on the forehead and at the sides of the face, as on M12aII. This concordance of hairstyle establishes the link with the previous type, as the look and features of this head are quite different. Perhaps only the shape of the parted mouth and the oblong, pensive eyes are a reminder of a shared origin. The shape of the veil on this head, so similar to that of many

votive heads of later deposits, and a certain sensitive, languid demeanour typical of terracotta votive heads influenced by later Hellenistic art, suggest for this head a date in the later part of the 3rd century B.C.

MALE VEILED HEAD: BM.1814.7-4.898

M12AI

Second Townley Collection

SIZE

H.12cm; width 12.5cm x 18cm; mouth 3.7cm; base of chin to forehead 13.6cm; nose 4.4cm; internal eye corner to ear lobe 7.7cm; external eye corners 7.4cm.

CLAY

Dull grey-beige colour, surface much darkened by decayed pigmentation. Numerous inclusions visible, medium to fine in size, mostly small quartz crystals and black volcanic particles. Surface smooth to the touch.

ANATOMY

Veiled head of youth modelled in the round with projecting back cranium. The face is oval and long, slightly rectangular in shape, with strong, heavy jaw and rounded chin, wide forehead and high but flat cheek-bones. The eyebrows are linear and pronounced, placed closely to the large, elongated, meticulously rendered eyes defined by narrow, sharply incised eyelids. The brow-nose line is a pleasing continuous line terminating in the slightly upturned rounded tip of the nose. The nose is prominent with distinct bridge and wide, flaring wings. The mouth is long with full, parted lips, the slit between them rendered as a deep rectangular gash in the clay. The ears are small and proportionate, only the right one is delineated in detail. The neck is short and sturdy; the veil joins the neck at the sides.

HAIRSTYLE

The hair is rendered as a wig-like, rigid mass of individually defined strands. Over the forehead is a short fringe of neatly arrayed locks running to the sides just above the ears. From the top, below the edge of the veil, a number of stiff,

longer strands covers, in a solid mass, the rest of the head. The veil is placed close to the contour of the head and the rim stands out just slightly at the front and sides; over the middle it forms a small crinkle. The line of the veil marks the junction between the front and rear mould; there is a small vent-hole at the top of the head. The surface at the back of the veil is much rougher than on the face and hair.

HEAD OF YOUTH: BM.1974.8-12.7

M12aII

Found unregistered

SIZE

H.19cm; base of chin to forehead 12cm; external eye corners 7.5cm; nose 4.7cm; mouth 3cm; internal eye corner to ear lobe 7.5cm.

CLAY

Pink/beige colour, surface darkened due to decayed red pigment; numerous inclusions visible, mostly black volcanic particles, red pozzolana, some quartz crystals. Surface smooth to the touch.

ANATOMY

Head of youth modelled in the round, competently rendered and well proportioned also at the back and sides of the head. The head is rounded in shape with an oval face, broad forehead partly hidden by a fringe, full rounded cheeks and small round chin. The eyebrows are slightly arched and linear, placed closely to the elongated eyes framed by narrow eyelids. The brow-nose line is continuous, however the tip of the nose is missing, the bridge is narrow and the wings are flaring with well defined nostrils. The mouth is long with full, shapely lips slightly parted and indented at the corners. The ears are quite large, low and detailed; the slender neck is cut short.

HAIRSTYLE

The hair is accurately rendered at the front, sides and back where it falls from the crown of the head to below the nape of the neck in regular and neatly arranged long, undulating strands. On the nape of the neck the hair swells gently and the ends of the strands turn towards the face. Over the forehead is a slight, irregular fringe of thin strands and thicker locks, the ends of which turn to the right and left of the face and at the sides in front of the ears in an undulating motion. The details of each individual strand and lock is carefully delineated by deep and shallow incisions in the clay.

VEILED MALE HEAD. BM.1982.9-29.1

M12b

Transferred from the V&A (386-1887) acquired by the vendor in Cairo, said to be from Cyprus.

SIZE

H.31.5cm; base of chin to forehead 16.5cm; external eye corners 8.7cm; mouth 3.5cm; nose 5cm; internal eye corner to ear lobe 8cm.

CLAY

Deep orange colour, numerous inclusions visible, ill sorted and angular, small to large in size, mostly quartz crystals, black volcanic particles, red/brown pozzolana. Surface very smooth to the touch at the front, possibly due to slip of diluted clay; some thumb impressions are visible on the surface.

ANATOMY

Male veiled head with long neck and slightly squashed back. The head is wider at the top where the veil rests, drooping rigidly around the hair and ears. The face is long and oval in shape with broad forehead only partly hidden by a fringe, small pointed chin and long cheek-bones. The eyebrows are arched and prominent, the brow-nose line presents a small hump. The oblong eyes, slightly rimmed by narrow eyelids, are set deep in their sockets. The nose is relatively short and straight, with flattened tip and fleshy wings. The mouth is small with

full and shapely, parted lips. The corners of the mouth are evidenced, as is the depression between nose and upper lip. The ears are barely sketched and poking out at the sides. The neck is very long and present two parallel "Venus ring" swellings across it.

HAIRSTYLE

The head is covered mostly by a veil that leaves only a short, thin fringe visible over the forehead and a few strands at the sides, in front and below the ears. The fringe is rendered by segments or locks of hair, each formed by a series of strands. The ends of the strands turn to both sides of the face, creating a slight, off-centre parting. The details are highlighted by shallow incisions in the clay. The veil is rounded at the back where is a vent-hole 3.7cm in diameter.

PARALLELS

In the Leiden Museum is one unpublished head on a bust identical to M12b, from the same generation matrix¹.

¹ The bust from the neck down is of dubious origin: inv.no.18.1901, Mei, blz.60. All the dimensions correspond.

GROUP 13

This group consist of four heads: M13aI (1839.2-14.11), M13aII (1839.2-14.16), derived from closely related matrices, M13b (1839.2-14.8) and M13c (1839.2-14.14) linked by the same prototype.

Head M13aI and head M13aII belong to the same popular type, of which numerous variations are known; the two heads are from related matrices of the same generation, as the size roughly correspond. The type of M13aI and M13aII, frequently found in Latium, probably originated in Caere, as most known examples are from that locality.

This type of head is the result of a composite representation of two famous models, one of Classical inspiration, the other Hellenistic¹. The hairstyle displayed follows in the Polycleitan tradition, with a slight bulging of the forehead, plastic hair locks and a slight parting of the fringe over the forehead. The facial type, however, is of a young Lysippean athlete with small eyes, fleshy nose and full, parted lips.

A small bronze copy of the Herakles by Polyclitus, in the Museo Barracco in Rome, is similar to M13aI in the shape of the hair locks on the forehead and sides and in the facial features, particularly the swelling under the eyelids, the wide nose with straight bridge, the full mouth, the rounded soft chin and the protruding ears². The young athlete type is superimposed on this Polycleitan model and can be perceived in the leaner shape of the face, the outline of the eyes, the parted lips, the sullen expression and even in the contour of the ears. This amalgamation of Hellenistic and earlier models is much utilized by the Italic coroplasts producing the votive heads in a convincing manner.

¹ Riis goes as far as remarking similarities between this type of votive head and one head from the Alexander sarcophagus: Riis 1941, p.18ff. Riis identifies this type as originating in Caere: Riis 1981, Caetan type 22D, p.28.

² Museo Barracco inv.no.109: Bianchi Bandinelli 1938, pl.IX, nos.45,46,47; Von Steuben H. 'Kopf des Polikletischen Herakles. Rom Konservatorenplahast BR.N.' *Antike Plastik* VII, pp.95-101, pls.47-54, Barracco-Abb.9. The statuette is 49cm high. It is possible that copies of this size were in circulation being used as models from which to copy and draw inspiration.

A dating for this type of head to the end of the 4th century B.C., as suggested by Hafner on the basis of the relationship with earlier 4th century B.C. types of terracotta heads, is probable³. However, this is a popular and, apparently, enduring type which must have been in circulation for a considerable stretch of time. The analogy with other Italic types of head is not limited to the ones mentioned by Hafner. A certain likeness can also be observed, in spite of the Greek quality of M13aI, with the types of M11a and M11bI, in the general appearance of the features with their youthful demeanour, the rotundity of the head and face, the distinctive, large projecting ears. It is hard to determine the extent and nature of the relationship between these different types, if indeed it exists, and their chronological link; it is likely they were contemporary: the types of Group 11 rooted in the Italic tradition, the types of Group 13 influenced by the style of celebrated Greek masterpieces.

M13b is related to the type of M13aI, the connection evidenced by some similarities of features, especially the eyes, brows and ears. The shape of the face, although broader, is that of M13aI, with corresponding high, puffy cheeks and round, dimpled chin; the position of the ears is also comparable. The hairstyle differs slightly, the Polycleitan style of M13aI and M13aII is replaced by a series of ruffled ringlets, presumably inspired by the Apoxyomenos of Lysippus; as on head M16a.

Head M13b shows also some similarities with the type of the Perseus, a work of the school of Skopas, as beheld in a marble copy in Ostia. Particularly relevant is the broadness of the face, the shape and position of the ears, the shape of the mouth and brows; the physiognomic likeness is also evident in profile. The hairstyle with the unruly short ringlets over the forehead stresses the resemblance⁴. This head, more than the previous type, is a pastiche of local and Greek trends, showing a free, slightly grotesque, adaptation of the popular type of M13aI

³ One a head in Berlin the other a famous votive head from Falerii: Hafner 1966-67, pl.5, no.2, pl.7, nos.1-2, p.40; Invernizzi-Tomaselli-Zezza 1983, p.20.

⁴ Ostia Museum inv.no.99: Calza-Floriani-Squarciapino 1962, p.41, no.9; Zanker 1974, p.106, no.9, pl.79, nos.1, 3-5.

Head M13c is a modification of the type of M13aI, the resemblance is particularly evidenced in the shape of the face, forehead, brows, mouth and in the expression of the face. However, the appearance of M13c is quite different, largely due to the hair rendering. The hairstyle is essentially the same, with short locks and parted fringe in Polycleitan fashion, but it is represented as a smooth, tight fitting cap with the hair strands indicated simply by shallow incisions in the clay. This hairstyle is similarly rendered to that of type M10b.

M13c presents stylistic affinities with heads from the votive deposit at the Ara della Regina in Tarquinia, particularly with one example that, besides evident physiognomic likeness, shows the same smooth cap hairstyle with a ridge along the forehead⁵; the head displays a beard, also rendered by shallow incisions. The head from Tarquinia is dated from the late 4th to the first half 3rd centuries B.C. on the basis of the similarity of features and hairstyle with two 4th century B.C. stone heads⁶.

MALE HEAD: BM.1839.2-14.11

M13aI

Campanari Collection

SIZE

H.35cm; chin to forehead 14.5cm; external eye corners 8cm; internal eye corner to ear lobe 9cm; mouth 3.5cm.

CLAY

Pale yellow colour, numerous inclusions visible, fine to medium in size, mostly black volcanic crystals, red/brown pozzolana, mica and quartz crystals.

⁵ Comella 1982, p.65, pl.24b, B1 XXXIII.

⁶ One in the BM the other in Tarquinia: Comella 1982, p.65; Vessberg 1941, p.123, pl.XVI, nos.3-4; Hafner 1970, p.50, pl.23, no.1. The presence of the beard, well out of fashion by the end of the 4th century B.C., is an argument in favour of such dating.

ANATOMY

Head and neck of male youth with the neck turning into a ring base; the head is extensively damaged and restored, part of the back is missing. The face is oval in shape with full, puffy cheeks, narrow forehead partly covered by a fringe, rounded chin somewhat slanting in profile. The occipital bone is pronounced as are the arched eyebrows; the eyes are small, close-set and almond-shaped, the eyelids are uneven and not well rendered. The nose is short and straight, the nostrils are fleshy but little pronounced. The mouth, small with full lips, slightly parted and curling at the corners is placed close to the nose. A probable distortion in the mould has caused a slight imperfection in the shape and positioning of the left side of the mouth. The ears are large, prominent and placed well to the back of the head.

HAIRSTYLE

The short hairstyle is rendered only at the front of the head, the back is simply smoothed and rounded. Over the forehead is a fringe, slightly parted in the middle, formed by a series of short, pointed, flame-like locks. At the sides, above the ears, the locks curve into irregular ringlets.

PARALLELS

In the MGE are three heads of this type from Caere, probably from the same generation matrix⁷. From the same series is a head in Pavia, ex-Vatican collection⁸. Again from Caere are a votive head on display in the Cerveteri Museum and one from the deposit of the Tempio del Manganello, probably of corresponding generation matrix with the heads in the BM and MGE⁹. In the Museo Archeologico Nazionale at Civitavecchia is a votive head of the same

⁷ Inv.no.13989; inv.no.13974 corresponding to M13aI and MGE inv.no.13988 corresponding to M13aII: Hafner 1966-7, pl.10, nos.3-4.

⁸ Invernizzi-Tomaselli-Zezza 1983, pp.19-20, T2.

⁹ Inv.no.93540; Mengarelli 1935, pls. XVII-XIX; Bonghi Jovino 1976, pl.XVII, no.9.

type but of later matrix from the Sanctuary at Punta delle Vipere¹⁰. The type is also found in Rome, from the Tiber, with several variations¹¹ and from the deposit of Minerva Medica¹². Examples of the type have been retrieved at Lavinium¹³. South of Rome the type is found only in votive deposit at Carsoli with modifications¹⁴ and at Lucera, in Apulia, with slightly different hairstyle¹⁵. Two heads in the MGE are related to this type, the relationship is evidenced particularly in the hairstyle, where details are duplicated¹⁶. One head of this type is in the Hamburg Museum¹⁷. One head of this type was auctioned in Freiburg in 1991¹⁸.

MALE HEAD:BM.1839.2-14.16

M13aII

Campanari Collection

SIZE

H.27cm; base chin to forehead 15cm; external eye corners 8cm; internal eye corner to earlobe 8.8cm; mouth 3.5cm.

¹⁰ *Santuari d'Etruria*, p.152, no.8.1, B2, dated in the catalogue to the early 3rd century B.C.

¹¹ Pensabene 1980, pl.69, no.445; pl.71, no.450; pl.73, no.458; possibly pl.74, no.462 and 466; pl.88, no.520; pl.89, no.521.

¹² Gatti Lo Guzzo 1978, pl.36, Gxa.

¹³ Thomasson 1961, pl.3, no.18 and pl.4, no.19; *Enea nel Lazio*, D 220, p.237; D 272, p.268.

¹⁴ Marinucci 1976, type E, pl.8.

¹⁵ Bartoccini 1940, p.250, fig.31.

¹⁶ Inv.nos.13852 and 13854: Hafner 1966-7, pl.10, nos.1-2; Kaschnitz 1965, pl.7, nos.1-7,2; Kilmer 1977, pp.226-227. The heads are comparable but with modified details such as large slanting eyes more similar to the type of M10bIII and to inv.no.13873 in the MGE.

¹⁷ Inv.no.1968-8, H.30cm.

¹⁸ Dated in the catalogue 4th-3rd centuries B.C., H.29cm; No.124: 'Kunst der Antike. Galerie Günter Puhze'. Catalogue 9. Freiburg 1991.

CLAY

Pale creamy colour, several inclusions visible, mostly fine black volcanic particles and red pozzolana. Traces of red pigment survive on the surface.

ANATOMY

Head and neck of male youth, damaged at the neck. A few details differ from M13aI: the chin is more pronounced with a dimple in the middle, the nose is slightly longer and fleshier, the eyes are narrower and the lips a little more parted. The more notable difference is in the ears, crudely modelled, large, placed high on the head and protruding at the sides. The rendering of the hair at the back, in a series of shallow incised lines running from the crown to the neck, is also different to the plain, smooth back of M13aI.

PARALLELS

Of the same generation matrix appears to be a head from the Tempio del Manganello¹⁹ in Caere, and a head in the MGE also from Caere²⁰. In the Cerveteri Museum is a half head of the same type²¹.

MALE HEAD: BM.1839.2-14.8

M13b

Campanari Collection

SIZE

H.31.3cm; max.width 19cm; base of chin to forehead 15.5cm; external eye corners 8.6cm; mouth 3.6cm; tip of nose to ear lobe 10.7cm.

CLAY

¹⁹ Mengarelli 1935, pl.XVIII-XIX.

²⁰ Inv.no.13988: Hafner 1966-7, pl.10, no.3.

²¹ Inv.no.93556.

Pale creamy-yellow colour, surface smooth to the touch, numerous inclusions visible, fine to large in size, mostly red-brown pozzolana, black particles and quartz crystals. Traces of red pigment survive on the face.

ANATOMY

Large head and neck of male youth modelled in the round, restored on the neck, forehead, left chin and right ear. The back of the cranium is bulky, the face round and broad with very full and slightly puffy cheeks, the forehead is narrow, the chin is prominent and round with a dimple in the middle. The arched eyebrows are placed very close to the eyes which are rather small in proportion to the size of the head, little delineated. The eyes are slightly oblong, with shallow eyelids which overlap slightly at the outer corners. The lower lids are almost non-existent, the irises are indicated by two asymmetrical depressions in the middle of the eyeballs, the left one is oddly misplaced, giving an appearance of strabism. The straight nose is small and fleshy, the mouth is very small with M-shaped upper lip, curling up at the corners. The ears are quite large and accurately modelled with the left ear a little larger. The neck is very broad and turns out slightly into a ring base.

HAIRSTYLE

The short hair is straight and combed forward from the crown of the head except over the front. The straight locks are emphasized by incisions running down the back to the nape of the neck, forward on the front and sides. Over the forehead and in front of the ears the hair thickens slightly into uneven and asymmetrical locks, framing the face in a slightly disordered fashion.

MALE HEAD: BM.1839.2-14.14

M13c

Campanari Collection

SIZE

H.25.5cm; base chin to forehead 14.5cm; external eye corners 8.5cm; internal eye corner to ear lobe 9cm; mouth 4cm; nose 5cm.

CLAY

Pale creamy colour, numerous inclusions visible, very fine to moderate in size, mostly black particles, red-brown pozzolana, quartz crystals.

ANATOMY

Head and neck of male youth modelled in the round with a slight inclination to the left. The face is oval with high cheek bones, low forehead and rounded, pronounced chin. The brows are prominent and arched, the eyes are large and almond-shaped, closed to the eyebrows and deep-set. The nose is long, straight and prominent with a wide bridge and large nostrils. The mouth is small with full, slightly parted lips; the corners of the upper lip are up-turned unevenly, in the same manner of M13aI. The ears are prominent, the right one is larger and looks quite different from the left one.

HAIRSTYLE

The hair is rendered as a tight fitting cap with a definite edge around the forehead and sides; at the back of the head is simply smoothed. The hair strands are indicated at the front and sides by a few shallow and rather poorly executed incisions that seem to evidence a series of locks and a fringe slightly parted in the middle. There are no locks indicated in front of the larger right ear, but in front of the left ear is a series of incised lines extending from the fringe, indicating side ringlets.

GROUP 14

This group includes three heads: M14a (BM.1974.8-12.6), M14b (BM.1950.1-4.6) and M14c (BM.1843.5-7.318).

The type of head M14a is popular in Etruscan-Latium-Campanian votive deposits, often present in various modified versions¹. The type of this head is related to both M13a and M15b. Although connected, these types of heads are all asserted in their own right, with distinctive characteristics and looks.

The affinity with M13a is to be found in the type of the young Lysippean athlete, after which they are both modelled. The link with Group 15 is in the probable, common Apulian origin of the two types. The type of M14a is in fact common in the massive votive deposit at Lucera, in Apulia, often portrayed with irregularly parted locks over the forehead, but identical hairstyle at the sides of the face². The features are always graceful and the Hellenistic quality of the heads is highlighted, regardless of the rigid frontality and the frequent presence of the veil³. The heads from Lucera probably represent an important phase in the development and propagation of this type which advanced Hellenistic forms and themes from Tarentum to other parts of the Italian peninsula. The votive deposit was sealed at the end of the 3rd century B.C., therefore this type of votive head, if originating in Lucera, must date from the earlier part of the century.

On M14a the Hellenistic pathos, featured in the intense expressiveness of the eyes, the frowning forehead and the sensuous, slightly parted lips, is combined

¹ From the deposit of Minerva Medica on the Esquiline in Rome are some examples showing the same hairstyle as on M14a but features more alike those of M15b: Gatti Lo Guzzo 1978, pp.91-94, 173, pls. XXXVI-XXXVII; from Lavinium: Thomasson 1961, pls. II-III, nos. 11-15; pl. IV, no. 19; from the Tiber: Pensabene 1979, pl. XLIV, no. 4; from Fregelle: Ferrea 1979, pl. XXXVII. From Veii Campetti are a few heads of good quality related to this type: Torelli-Pohl 1973, fig. 104; and some of poor quality: Vagnetti 1972, pl. XXII, EII.

² Bartoccini 1940, p. 243, fig. 24-bis; p. 244, fig. 25; Rossi 1980, pp. 67-84, type CM1-5, pls. XIX-XXIII, particularly pl. XXII which is also comparable in size: H. 31 cm.

³ The presence of the veil on these, otherwise thoroughly hellenising, heads is symptomatic of the Roman influence in votive customs and cult formulas: Lucera is a Roman colony in 314 B.C. but already an ally of Rome in 328 B.C.

with a rigid hairstyle echoing Polycleitan models, particularly the Doryphoros. The adaptation of a Classical hairstyle, like on head M13a, complies with an Hellenistic facial type. In other votive deposits this hairstyle is paralleled on heads dated (probably too conservatively) to the second half of the 2nd century B.C.⁴

Notwithstanding a certain rigidity, the features of head M14b are fairly accurately and skilfully described. The eyes are almost a deliberate imitation of the staring, piercing gaze of the glass-paste eyes of bronze statuary. The type of this head is the same of M14a, however, there is a remarkable likeness between this head and a small bronze bust of Menander in Malibu, a Roman copy of the original statue of 290 B.C. by the sons of Praxiteles⁵. The shape of the broad, square face with strong jaw-chin line, the frowning forehead, the heavy brows, the small, piercing, close-set eyes, the large ears, all are characteristic, and atypical features, shared by the two heads. Even the expression lines at the corner of the eyes, distinctly present on the bronze bust, seem to be suggested on the votive head. The main difference between the two heads is in the hairstyle.

Head M14c is an interesting example of slipped mould. The type of this head is probably that of M14a, although, given the damaged conditions of the piece, identification is uncertain. In spite of its poor conditions the terracotta must have been used rather than rejected, as traces of red paint survive on the chin and left cheek. Painting was taking place after firing when the object was removed from the mould; the bad outcome of this head does not seem to have prevented the manufacturer from adding the finishing touch required for the sale.

⁴ At the deposit of Minerva Medica in Rome: Gatti Lo Guzzo 1978, p.174, pl.XXXVI, GXa-GXb1; pl.XXXXVII, GXIa1, GXIb1.

⁵ Fredericksen 1975, p.41; Ashmole 1976, p.61; Frel 1981, no.34, pp.82-85. For the Menander type: Richter 1965, II, pp.224-236, figs.1514-1643.

MALE VEILED HEAD: BM.1974.8-12.6

M14a

Found unregistered

SIZE

H.29cm; base chin to forehead 17cm; nose 6cm; external eye corners 9cm; mouth 3.7cm; internal eye corner to ear lobe 8.6cm.

CLAY

Creamy-pink colour, numerous inclusions visible, small to large in size, mostly black volcanic (crystals and spongy), some mica and red pozzolana. Traces of red pigment survive on the face.

ANATOMY

Large veiled head of male youth of good quality, damaged on the veil and neck, the short neck forming a simple stand. The face is round and wide in shape with narrow forehead slightly frowning and crossed by a slight depression; the chin is round with a dimple in the middle, the cheeks are full and the whole effect of the face is slightly puffy. The eyebrows are linear and pronounced, the large eyes deep-set and very naturalistically rendered in detail with upper and lower lids well defined, gazing ahead from the incised irises and pupils. The nose is long and straight with wide, slightly flaring nostrils, the mouth is small with full, pouting lips. The ears are large, turned out on the sides of the veil and depicted in particulars.

HAIRSTYLE

The short hair is slightly parted in the middle with symmetrically placed, curling locks around the forehead and at the sides. Over the forehead two facing, pointed locks look like pincers; at the sides and over the top of the head the hair is arranged in series of short, thick ringlets. Two slightly longer ringlets fall in front of the ears over the cheeks.

PARALLELS

This type of head is found in Rome from the Tiber, also in the half head version with some variations⁶; one example comes from Lavinium⁷, and one in the Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek from Lanuvium⁸. One fragmentary head of the same type is in the Cerveteri Museum; one head of this type is in the Danish National Museum⁹, and two more are in a German private collection¹⁰.

MALE VEILED HEAD: BM.1950.1-4.6

M14b

Given by L.J.Hooper

SIZE

H.31cm; base chin to forehead 17cm; external eye corners 9.5cm; mouth 4.2cm; internal eye corner to ear lobe 10cm.

CLAY

Pink-orange colour darker in places, numerous inclusions visible in the brakes but not on the surface, mostly black volcanic particles. Traces of red pigment survive.

ANATOMY

Large male head, heavy in weight almost solid; the veil forms a rigid frame around the head and neck, the back of the head is nearly flat. The face is broad with square jaw and wide cheek bones, the forehead is crossed by a slight depression conferring to the face a frowning expression. The eyebrows are wide and heavy, the small eyes are almond-shaped, delineated by sharp outer

⁶ Pensabene 1980, pl.89, no.521.

⁷ La Regina in *Lavinium* 1975, fig.321, C.144.

⁸ *Tillaeg til Kat. over Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek ant.Kunstvaerker* 1925, no.T 119 d.

⁹ Breitenstain 1941, inv.no. ABb 269, pl.100, no.795.

¹⁰ Schweitzer 1929, pp.191-192, pl.XXXIV, A,C.

corners turning conspicuously down and deeply incised lids. Incised are also the pupils and irises, placed in such a way to bestow a crossed-eyed, staring look to the face. The nose is damaged, but was presumably long and straight with broad, fleshy nostrils; the mouth, positioned closed to the nose, is small with full, almost sensual, slightly parted lips. The ears are large and exaggeratedly stuck out on the sides of the veil.

HAIRSTYLE

The hairstyle is identical to that of head M14a, the details of the short, symmetrical locks are even more meticulously accurate.

PARALLELS

One head of the same type is in the MGE¹¹, and one is in the Villa Giulia Museum¹². One head of this type is in a Danish private collection¹³.

MALE VEILED HEAD: BM.1843.5-7.318

M14c

Belmore Collection

SIZE

H.24cm; base of chin to forehead 11.5cm; external eye corners 7cm; mouth 2.6cm.

CLAY

Light pink-creamy colour, rough to the touch, numerous inclusions visible, mostly black volcanic particles, red pozzolana, quartz crystals and some mica. Traces of red pigment survive on the face.

¹¹ Inv.no.13779.

¹² Inv.no.25248.

¹³ *Antik Kunst i Dansk privateje*, p.48, no.305; one similar head is mentioned in the Brooklyn Museum in New York, inv.no.09.16.

ANATOMY

Veiled head and neck of youth with flat back. This is a particularly interesting specimen of slipped mould which produces a double image effect. The face presents three eyes, the third below and to the side of the right eye which is, in turn, almost indistinct, indicated mainly by the eye socket. Also on the neck the clay does not seem to have set properly in the mould, the result is a wrinkly neck giving the impression of loose skin. Furthermore, there are impressions on the forehead, traces of the hair curls, where the mould has slipped. The cast of the mould is faint and the features outcome is fairly indeterminate. The nose is compleatly missing, but it is not clear if it is a manufacturing fault or if it happened at a later stage. The ears have not come out of the mould, although in the place of the left ear is a blob of clay. The neck and veil turn out to form a platform at the front on which the narrow head stands. A hole was pierced through the object from the bottom to the centre with a stick, the impression of which is still visible in the clay. There is also a vent-hole in the middle of the back.

GROUP 15

Group 15 consists of five heads of three types closely related to each other.

The prototype for head M15a (BM.1859.2-16.8) appears to be based on the portrait of Demetrios Poliorketes, as identified by a 1st century B.C. Roman copy, a herm from Herculaneum in the Naples National Museum¹ (Fig.10). The two heads share the same deep-set eyes with slight swelling at the outer corner of the eye, the same shape of the brow, the same shape of the mouth, the same broad, rounded cheeks, the conspicuous Adam's apple, and the same inclination of the head with slight upward gaze. The hairstyle differs, shorter on the herm and longer on the votive head, in the style of the Azara Herm.

Demetrios Poliorketes, one of Alexander's generals, was portrayed in Lysippan style probably by Teisikrates, a pupil of Euthykrates²; the rendering of the handsome features is close to the Lysippan image of Alexander. On the herm the upward gaze, often associated with the movement of the neck, recalls the idealised portraits of Alexander made under the influence of the new heavenward-gazing type of Lysippos. Plutarch says that the Diadochs, of which Demetrios Poliorketes is one, emulated Alexander's look and poise of the head³. The Adam's apple is represented in portraits on coins as well as on the herm. The good looks of Demetrios Poliorketes, famous in antiquity, are reported by Plutarch⁴ and Diodorus⁵ who states: " Moreover he was outstanding both in beauty and in stature...

¹ Walters 1899, p.35; Laurenzi 1941, no.50, the archetype dated by Laurenzi to c.300 B.C.; Richter 1965, III, figs.1741-1742; Bieber 1961, figs.145-146, pp.50-51; Smith 1988, pls.4-5, p.64. The herm can be compared to portraits of Demetrios Poliorketes on coins, particularly a stater in the BM, mint of Pella 288-283 B.C.: Jenkins 1972, p.215, nos.518, 519; and a tetradrachm in the BM, mint of Pella 289-288 B.C.: Newell 1927, p.97, pl.10.

² Pliny *NH*, XXXIV. 67; Lippold, 'Teisikrates' in *Pauly-Wissowa*, V, p.149.

³ L'Orange 1947, p.22.

⁴ Plutarch *Demetrius*: 2.2.

⁵ Diodorus: 19.81.4.

Furthermore, there was in him a certain gentleness becoming to a youthful king..."⁶, a feature which seems to have been conveyed to the votive heads of this type.

The Naples herm and the coins of Demetrius Poliorketes portray him with small bull's horns on the head attesting his adoption of an emblem of divinity, appearing as a new Dionysos, following the example of Alexander⁷. There must have been innumerable portraits and statues of Demetrius Poliorketes in his life time, as there were of Alexander⁸; a few, apart from the statue by Teisikrates, are reported by Pausanias and Diodorus⁹. It is possible that some of the youthful representations of the king may have portrayed longer hairstyle in the fashion of the Azara herm, possibly with the characteristic locks across the forehead as displayed on the votive heads.

Another popular group of votive heads is related to the type of M15a, presumably derived from it and modified with emphasized parted lips, eyes gazing upwards in an over-pathetic expression and differing hairstyle. They are found commonly in Latium at Rome¹⁰, Veii¹¹, Castel di Decima¹², Narce¹³, in Campania at Capua¹⁴, Carsoli¹⁵, and Minturno¹⁶, in Apulia at

⁶ Quoted from: Geer R.M. *Diodorus of Sicily*. Cambridge-London 1962, X, p.57.

⁷ Demetrios Poliorketes devotion to Dionysos is recorded: Plutarch, *Demetrius*, 2.2; Diodorus: 20.92.4.

⁸ Williams Lehmann 1980, pp.114-115.

⁹ Pausanias mentions statues and groups at the Sanctuaries at Olympia and Delphi: Olympia: 6.15.7, 6.16.3; Delphi: 10.10.2; Diodorus alludes to a golden statue in a chariot in the Athenian Agora and to a statuary group in Rhodes: Athens: 20.46.2; Rhodes: 20.93.6.

¹⁰ Gatti Lo Guzzo 1978, pl.XXXV, GvI, 1, pp.171-172; Pensabene 1981, pl.70, no.447, pp.193-194.

¹¹ From Campetti: Torelli-Pohl 1973, fig.104, p.225.

¹² Guaitoli 1974, fig.13, pp.61-62.

¹³ Breitenstain 1941, pl.102, no.803, p.85.

¹⁴ Bonghi Jovino 1965, pl.XLII, Plv a1, p.91; pl.LXXIII 1-2, no.2880, p.144.

¹⁵ Marinucci 1976, pl.12-15, p.49-51.

¹⁶ Mingazzini 1938, pl.XIX, 5, 10-12; pl.XXIII, 7-10.

Lucera¹⁷, usually dated to the late 3rd-2nd centuries B.C. The resemblance with M15a is particularly evident on a head from the sanctuary of Minerva Medica on the Esquiline¹⁸. For this head Gatti Lo Guzzo identifies the likeness with the portrait of Demetrios Poliorketes, although the comparison is not as convincing as for M15a. The connection between these two groups is more manifest in the outline of the face and shape of mouth and nose. Even the hairstyle, although modified, shows a dependence from the style of M15a with side-swept locks, some of which seem to be reproduced in the same manner. Similarities with M15bI are also evident, particularly in the outline of the mouth with deep side indentations (the mouth is in fact more akin to M15bI than to M15a). However, the head from Minerva Medica differs in the form of the eyes, which are wide open, with deep-set sockets and with more indented outer corners. The upward gaze is stressed in an expression of intense feeling, emphasized by the outline of the lower lid.

A striking and significant parallel for the head from Minerva Medica is found on an Apulian krater with human head appliqué in the Louvre, dated to the late 4th-3rd centuries B.C.¹⁹ The likeness is remarkable and there is no doubt that the prototype is the same. The applique also displays a pair of long horns, which may suggest an analogy with the horned portrait of Demetrios Poliorketes (Fig.11).

Another Apulian head vase in the BM, a calix from Canosa dated to the 4th-3rd centuries B.C., is a counterpart for head M15a. Again the prototype is the same and the hairstyle is perfectly paralleled²⁰ (Fig.12). The parallel with the two south Italian vases is fundamental. Both vases are dated generically to the late 4th early 3rd centuries B.C., but the Louvre krater also displays

¹⁷ Bartoccini 1940, fig.24-27, p.242-246.

¹⁸ Gatti Lo Guzzo 1978, pl.XXXV, GvI, 1, pp.171-172.

¹⁹ Besques 1986, pl.149, no.D.4102 a,b, p.141, from Canosa. The head is described as a river god; also on top of the krater is a female figure with melon coiffure and on the handle a female head of Tanagra type with melon coiffure.

For the relationship between pottery production and terracottas in Apulia and particularly Tarentum: Hoffmann 1966.

²⁰ Campanari 1839: *CVA* G.B. fascicule 10, BM. fascicule 7, pl.19, IV Da no.5; Hefner 1966-67, pl.15, no.1.

female figures of Tanagra type with melon coiffure and on the calix is a female figure in the Tanagra style. The melon coiffure appears for the first time in south Italy in the 3rd century B.C. and the Tanagra type of figurines becomes popular in Magna Graecia at the same time. The two vases can not, therefore, be dated before the 3rd century B.C. The suggested archetype for the type of M15a, the portrait of Demetrios Poliorketes, is dated to c.300 B.C., or within the first quarter of the 3rd century B.C; the circulation of the prototype, for both votive head and head vase, must, consequently, be within the century and after that date. The creation of the modified type of the votive head from Minerva Medica and the krater in the Louvre must follow closely, as suggested by the poignant likeness. It is also evident that the creation of votive heads and head vases must be near in time as their resemblance is convincing in details.

We have no way of knowing the nature of the relationship between the two classes of objects and their prototype or which was created first. From a purely visual point of view, the size, the sharpness of features and details, the skill of rendering on the votive heads would suggest a closer link with the prototype. Works from south Italy influenced the workshops of central Italy, Etruria and Campania; the types of these votive heads seems to be common in southern Latium, Apulia and Campania, a fact which, together with the existence of the Apulian vases, suggests an origin for the prototype in southern Italy, probably Tarentum. The detail of the locks over the forehead on M15a, repeated so accurately on the vase in the BM can only be explained by a first hand knowledge of the prototype.

On the head from Minerva Medica, the dependence from the type of M15a seems, on close examination, undisputable and the unequivocal resemblance of this head with the applique closes a circle of relationships. The Apulian origin for the type of this head is further strengthened by a fragmentary terracotta votive statue from the deposit at Lucera, dated not later than the second half of the 3rd century B.C.²¹. The head of youth shows, although somewhat leaner, younger and softer, the same features, in particular the shape of the mouth, eyes, chin and jaw line. The hairstyle displays three

²¹ Rossi 1980, type CM11, pl.XXIX, nos.1-2, pp.73, 82-83. The same type is also found in the Lucera Museum: Bartoccini 1940, figs.14-15, pp.201-202, figs.35-36, pp.255-256.

twisted curls over the forehead, more linear than on the BM's head but presenting a similar concept.

The type of M15bI (BM.1859.2-16.6) is derived from that of M15a, they share physiognomic characteristics, although modified in poise and hairstyle. One head of this type, from the deposit on the Esquiline, illustrates a certain link between this type and that of M14a, as some facial characteristics of both can be found on it²². A detail is particularly revealing: the same deep indentation present on M15bI along the right wing of the nose is also found on the head from Minerva Medica, the whole shape of the nose is indeed reproduced. The hairstyle is, however, that of M14a with the front locks like pincers. Gatti Lo Guzzo dates the head, too conservatively, to the late 1st century B.C.

Head M15bII is the only veiled male profile in the BM's collection. Considering the commonplace of such objects in most votive deposits, this is perhaps indicative of the taste of the assemblers of the collection, which seem to have disregarded the half heads (scarce also amongst the female groups) in favour of the more "artistic", full, rounded heads. This only example is a transfer from the V&A in recent times.

The type of M15c (BM.1859.2-16.7), is directly derived from that M15bI, but a much poorer, simplified version.

Head M15d is a poorer derivative of M15bI than M15c, but clearly closely related to it. The heavy features on this head seem to suggest a careless, probably later, production of the type, when adherence to the original models had lost significance. The lateness of the example is further suggested by the hairstyle, which shows three flame-like locks over the middle of the forehead. Similar hairstyle can be seen on late Hellenistic sculpture like the head of a man from Smyrna in the Athens National Museum, dated to the late 2nd-1st centuries B.C.²³ The connection between M15c and M15d is clearly illustrated

²² Gatti Lo Guzzo 1978, pl.XXXVII, GxIb, 1.

²³ NMA inv.no.362, H.44cm: Smith 1991, fig.327, no.1.

by one smaller example from Cales, presumably derived from a matrix near to both²⁴.

MALE HEAD :BM.1859.2-16.8

M15a

Bequeathed by Miss Auldjo

SIZE

H.26.5cm; base of chin to forehead 14.7cm; external eye corners 8.9cm; mouth 3.6cm; max. width 16.5cm; width across cheekbones 12cm.

CLAY

Orange colour, darker on the surface, few inclusions visible mostly black volcanic, red pozzolana, quartz crystals and mica, fine in size with a scattering of larger lumps.

ANATOMY

Male head with well turned out neck and part of the shoulders. The head is slightly tilted to the right, only the front and sides are rendered, the back is uniformly rounded and slightly squashed, obviously not meant to be seen. The face is large and rounded with full cheeks, broad jaw and prominent, rounded and dimpled chin; the forehead is narrow and slightly slanting in profile, with a faint trace of line across it. The eyebrows are wide overhanging and linear, the eyes are small in proportion to the broadness of the face, deep-set and oblong in shape with sharply defined upper and lower lids and outer corners; the irises and pupils are indicated by shallow incisions. The nose is long and straight, forming, in profile, a continuous line with the forehead, the nostrils are wide, marked and fleshy. The almost sensual mouth is small and placed very close to the nose, with full, pouting parted lips. The broad neck with fold and large Adam's apple, adds to the corpulent appearance of this head. The shoulders are rounded and terminate just above the chest forming a stand for the head.

²⁴ Blazquez 1961, pl.IV, fig.6.

HAIRSTYLE

The hair is long and curly framing the face in a series of carefully disarranged, undulating, pointed strands, which on the forehead run almost parallel to the brow in a right-to-left direction. The length of the ringlets terminates abruptly just above shoulder level hiding the ears completely within their volume; the details of each individual strand of hair are highlighted by incisions.

PARALLELS

Several examples of this type are known: identical to the BM's example or veiled, with variations to the hairstyle or from statues. Several examples of this type, with or without veil, single heads and statues, with identical hairstyle or slightly modified, have been found at Lucera in Apulia²⁵. Several examples, veiled and unveiled, come from Cales, in Campania²⁶. A fragmentary head in the *Staatliche Kunstmuseen* in Kassel is of the same type, possibly from a related matrix, although, being smaller in size, of later generation²⁷. One head of this type is in the Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto²⁸. A veiled head of same type and with identical hairstyle, but probably from a statue, is in a private collection in Hamburg²⁹; on this head the face is slightly less plump and there are no necklines or Adam's apple. Another veiled head of the same type and closely related matrix is in the Danish National Museum³⁰ and in the NCG is a votive terracotta statue of the same type with the same hairstyle³¹. A veiled head of this type, very

²⁵ Bartoccini 1940, pp.200-201, figs.13-14, p.245, fig.26.

²⁶ Blazquez 1961, pl.III, fig.4; pl.V, fig.7; pl.VI, fig.8.

²⁷ H.22cm. Dated in the catalogue to the 4th-3rd centuries B.C.: Sinn 1977, pl.23, no.66, p.39.

²⁸ Inv.no.959.17.42.

²⁹ H.44.8cm, dated in the catalogue to the 2nd century B.C.: *Kunst der Etrusker*, p.117, no.144.

³⁰ H.26.9cm.: Breitenstein 1941, inv.no.AB b.156, pl.102, no.804, acquired in 1846 by Th.Laessle from G.Fiorelli, provenance unknown.

close to the example in the DNM was auctioned in Lucerne in 1967³² and another comparable head of the same size was auctioned in New York in 1991³³

MALE VEILED HEAD: BM.1859.2-16.6

M15BI

Bequeathed by Miss Auldjo

SIZE

H.34cm; base of chin to forehead 17.6cm; external eye corners 9.3cm; mouth 3.6cm; internal eye corner to ear lobe 10cm.

CLAY

Orange-pink colour, numerous inclusions visible, fine to coarse in size, mostly black volcanic crystals, red pozzolana, mica and numerous quartz crystals. Heavy in weight.

ANATOMY

Large male head and neck, veiled and slightly squashed at the back, the neck turns out at shoulder level into a ring base. The face is oval and full with a narrow forehead and a round chin. The wide, linear eyebrows are placed close to the small close-set eyes; the eyelids are thin and little emphasized by shallow slits in the clay, the pupils are rendered by incised circle and dots. The nose is long, wide across the bridge with very pronounced, fleshy nostrils and small openings, the right nostril presents a defect of

³¹ From Campania, dated to the 3rd century B.C.; comparable size with M15a: eye distance 7.9cm, brow to chin 14.2cm: Poulsen V. 1966, cat.H.7, BT.2.2; Fischer-Hansen 1992, no.130, pp.176-177.

³² H.28cm.: no.54 'Ars Antiqua AG' Catalogue 3 Lucerne December 1967. Dated in the catalogue to the 3rd century B.C.

³³ H.28cm.: no.241 'Art of the Ancient World' 50th Anniversary edition. Royal Athena Gallery, no.68 vol.VII part I, New York January 1991. The catalogue reads: "Found in a tomb at Albano, 4th-3rd centuries B.C.; ex-collection of the 1st Earl of Harrowby (1762-1847). Two other nearly identical heads from the collection of the Earl of Harrowby are also available. All bear the wax sealing of the King of Naples applied prior to the 1840's".

manufacture in the form of an exaggerated contour side-line. The mouth is very small with heart-shaped, slightly parted lips and indented corners. The ears are also small in proportion to the size of the head, highly placed and partly attached to the veil. The neck is broad and displays a bulging Adam's apple.

HAIRSTYLE

The hairstyle is arranged in short curls, hook-shaped at the sides and in front of the ears, over the middle of the forehead two almost circular curls face each other, the details of the hair are filled-in by incisions with a sharp point. The veil covers the back of the head allowing the front part of the hair to be exposed, it is not raised high but it simply rests on the head with the folds hanging straight down the sides behind the neck and shoulder, from which is well separated. At the back of the head is a vent-hole, 5cm in diameter.

PARALLELS

The type of this head is found in Rome at the Sanctuary of Minerva Medica³⁴. Several heads of this type come from Cales, in Campania³⁵. One identical head of the same size and possibly related matrix went for auction in Freiburg in 1979³⁶.

MALE VEILED HALF HEAD,

³⁴ H.21.5cm: Gatti Lo Guzzo 1978, pl.XXXVII, GxIb, 1.

³⁵ Blazquez 1961, pl.IV, fig.5; Blazquez 1963, fig.16; Blazquez 1968-69, fig.1.

³⁶ H.27, most of the neck is missing, dated in the catalogue 3rd-2nd centuries B.C.: 'Kunst der Antike. Galerie Günter Puhze.' Catalogue 1979. Freiburg 1979.

Transferred from the V&A (384-1887); purchased by the vendor in Cairo, said to be from Cyprus.

SIZE

H.31cm; max.width 15cm; base of chin to forehead 16.3cm; nose 5cm; eye 4.3cm; internal eye corner to ear lobe 10.2cm.

CLAY

Pink/orange colour, several inclusions visible, small to large in size and ill sorted, mostly quartz crystals, black volcanic crystals, some mica. The clay is well depurated and the surface is smooth to the touch.

ANATOMY

Left profile of male youth, veiled, in good condition of preservation but for the damaged tip of the nose. The type is that of full head M15bI and the description corresponds, the measurements do not exactly coincide but share similarities, therefore the matrices must be of close generations.

PARALLELS

The type of this half head is found in Rome with modified hairstyle where the curls are limp at the sides rather than hook-like³⁷; a few examples come from Cales, in Campania³⁸. One exact parallel to this head, reported to be from Veii, is in Baltimore³⁹. One half head of this type is in the DNM slightly

³⁷ Pensabene 1981, pl.85, nos.501-502; pl.85, no.520. Pensabene regards them as derived from the type illustrated in pl.70, no.447, a common, modified, over-pathetic derivative of M15bI.

³⁸ Blazquez 1961, pl.II, fig.3, right profile; Blazquez 1963, fig.5, left profile.

³⁹ Robinson 1923, pp.21-22, figs.26-27. The fig. 27, originally in Toronto, is said to be from Veii. According to Prof. Witt at Victoria College, Toronto, some 30 or 35 such terracottas (from the same mould?) were found in a cache at Veii about 1904. Robinson states that the Baltimore example is possibly 3rd or even 4th centuries B.C. and that the Toronto example is later. Also in an addendum at p.340 he claims to have seen at the University of Michigan two or three terracottas like the one of fig.27, also from Veii.

modified in the hairstyle on the forehead, where the circular locks are replaced by more linear tendrils like pincers⁴⁰.

MALE VEILED HEAD: BM.1859.2-16.7

M15c

Bequeathed by Miss Auldjo

SIZE

H.35cm; base of chin to forehead 16.2cm; external eye corners 10cm; mouth 4.2cm; internal eye corner to ear lobe 10cm.

CLAY

Pink-orange colour with very darkened surface, numerous inclusions visible, mostly black volcanic particles, quartz crystals, red pozzolana, mica. Heavy in weight.

ANATOMY

Male head, the veil joins the frontal part of the neck and shoulder to form a well definite base ring, more like a pedestal, 2.5cm high. At the back of the head is a vent-hole 4.7cm in diameter. The type of this head is that of M15bI, but the execution is cruder; the size is not dissimilar therefore the matrices must be contemporary. The face is slightly broader, the forehead lower, the nose shorter and the mouth fuller. The ears are more conspicuously protruding from the sides resting on the veil. The hairstyle is the same as on M15bI but more rigid and stylised.

MALE VEILED HEAD: BM.1859.2-16.11

M15d

Bequeathed by Miss Auldjo

⁴⁰ Inv.no.4749: Breitenstain 1941, pl.100, no.798, H.28.2cm, of pale greyish-brown clay red with pigment surviving on the face. Acquired in 1896 from a dealer in Rome.

SIZE

H.32cm; base of chin to forehead 15cm; external eye corners 9.5cm; mouth 4cm; internal eye corner to ear lobe 8.5cm.

CLAY

Orange-pink colour, numerous inclusions visible, fine to coarse in size with large lumps of black volcanic particles, red pozzolana, quartz crystals and some mica. Much red pigment survives on the surface of the face and neck. Heavy in weight.

ANATOMY

The head is slightly damaged on the nose and chin. The head is large and high at the top, the forehead is still narrow and also the eyebrows are like those of M15bI but the outline of the eyes is modified to oblong almond-shaped with sharp outer and inner corners; the nose is shorter and less broad than M15bI and the mouth is larger with fuller lips. The most relevant modification is found in the hairstyle at the front over the forehead, where the two facing circular locks are replaced by three, flame-like, strands of hair. The rest of the coiffure follows in the style displayed by M15bI and M15c. Three rough "Venus-rings" are present on the neck, emulating the lines and Adam's apple of M15a and M15bI. The veil joins the neck at the sides and front to form a base, 1.5cm high, as on M15c and M15bII. At the back of the head is a vent-hole, 3.9cm in diameter.

GROUP 16

Group 16 consists of four heads of differing types, the correlation being their direct dependence from Greek prototypes. Except for 1 M6a (BM.1839.2-14.13), known from a number of examples, they are not very common types, possibly due to the strict adherence to their prototypes and consequent lack of popular Italic quality.

The type of head M16a is clearly modelled on the Apoxyomenos; the likeness with the Lysippean masterpiece is evident at first sight, particularly in the poise of the head and in the characteristic, wind-swept curls over the forehead¹. The facial features are also very similar to the Greek model showing the same expression of pensive, composed calm. The Apoxyomenos's tridimensionalism, its representation of momentary appearance and precision of detail, was much admired in antiquity and much copied throughout the Hellenistic period.

Having ascertained the dependence of this type of head from a Lysippean model, it is possible to perceive other artistic influences in the making of the prototype. The rendering of the hair at the front is also comparable to a late 4th, early 3rd centuries B.C. head of athlete in the Metropolitan Museum². The head in New York is pervaded of strength, at the same time it is infused of a soft, serene grace, that shows the intellectual side of his character. The votive head is trying to emulate a similar feel, perceived, for example, in the rendering of the features, softer and leaner than on the Apoxyomenos.

Similarities can also be established with Hellenistic works of Classical inspiration, typical of a period when artists were looking back to earlier periods for ideas combining various types and many traditions, for instance with the head of a bronze statue of athlete from Cerigotto³.

¹ The precise dating of the Apoxyomenos is unknown, but Pliny places Lysippus *floruit* to 328 BC because of his connection with Alexander.

² Richter 1962, fig.208; Richter G. in *Metropolitan Museum Bulletin* 1961, p.82ff.

³ Frost 1903, pp.217-236, pls.VIII-IX.

The prototype for M16a seems to be based on a combination of 4th century B.C. athletic and heroic heads, probably developed in the early 3rd century⁴.

As with head M16a, the Greek model to which the type of M16b (BM.1956.1-6.7) is inspired totally obliterates any Italic element. This is again a "composite" piece, merging high Classical influences and Hellenistic style. There is a strong mid-4th century B.C. component of Skopadic work, particularly of the Herakles type, the affinity evidenced also by the similarity with later copies such as the Genzano Herm in the British Museum⁵ and the Lansdowne Herakles in Malibu⁶. The length of the hair is the same, with exposed ears and temples; the face is also slightly square at the jaw, the shape of eyes and mouth corresponds. However, the votive head lacks the vigour of the Herakles in favour of a softer quality.

The type of the Erbach Alexander, as known through the copies from the Acropolis⁷ and the Schloss Erbach⁸, may also be perceived on this votive head, with shorter, differently arranged hair.

The type of head M16c (BM.1926.3-24.102) also combines differing Greek influences, forsaking completely the Italic element. On this head the detail of the facing hair locks over the forehead originates from the portraits of Alexander, like the Azara Herm in the Louvre⁹. This hairstyle, attested on terracotta heads in votive deposits dating from the late 3rd to the 2nd century B.C. and on Etruscan sarcophagi lids, survives until the 1st century B.C.¹⁰ The commanding twist of the neck is also a characteristic poise of Hellenistic rulers portraits, after the official representation of Alexander.

⁴ The same dating for this type is advanced by Hafner: Hafner 1966-67, p.40, pl.11, no.1.

⁵ Smith 1892-1904, BM.inv.no.1731; Stewart 1977, pl.30, a-c.

⁶ Stewart 1977, pl.42, c; pl.52, no.3 (mouth), no.5 (eyes).

⁷ Acropolis Museum inv.no.1331; Smith 1988, no.2c, pl.2.

⁸ Smith 1988, no.2A, pl.2.

⁹ Bieber 1964, pl.VIII, nos.13-16.

¹⁰ Chapter 8.

The influence of 4th century B.C. sculptural models of the Skopasian Meleager and the Praxitelean Hermes are present on the prototype of M16c: the softness and grace of Praxiteles is blended with the pathos and passion of Skopas. The resemblance with the Meleager is evidenced through the famous copy at the Villa Medici and one in the Fogg Art Museum of Harvard University¹¹. The right-to-left twist of the head, the slightly open mouth, the line of the chin, the lines at the sides of the mouth and the shape of the occipital bone are all elements rendered in a closely similar manner on the votive terracotta as on the Meleager's copies. The thick, compact mass of curls on M16c is similar to the hairstyle on the Harvard head, particularly matching are the strands at the right side of the face in front of the ear. However, the hairstyle of M16c is also comparable to that of the Hermes¹². The deep-set eyes and swelling forehead are considered by some scholars to be a distinctive Skopasian trait¹³; the slight down-cast gaze of the eyes is a characteristic of the Hermes. A tentative resemblance can be identified in a head of youth in the Cassel Museum, a marble copy of a 4th century B.C. Attic work¹⁴.

Head M16d (BM.1974.8-12.11) is, from the stylistic point of view, one of the most interesting votive heads in the BM's collection. Several artistic influences are at work on this head as on the earlier examples. The "lion's mane" hairstyle of the portraits of Alexander, of late 4th-3rd centuries B.C., can be easily recognized as the one displayed by this head. The "lion's mane" with the high parting over the forehead, brings to mind, first and foremost, the Azara Herm in the Louvre¹⁵, the most famous illustration of the style and the most reliable portrait of the king. Also the same stern masculine hero type, with broad face and heavy features, can be recognized on the votive head and the line across the forehead, considered a telling characteristic of the work by Lysippus, is

¹¹ However the Harvard copy is rather late in date, 2nd century A.D.: Hanfmann-Pedley 1964, pp.61-65, pls.58-72.

¹² Hermes at the Olympia Museum: Bieber 1961, fig.11.

¹³ Richter 1962, p.276.

¹⁴ Bieber 1915, pp.23-24, pl.XXVI, no.27.

¹⁵ Schreiber 1903, p.109; Bieber 1964, pp.32-34, pls.8-9, figs.13-17; Richter 1965, pp.255, no.16, figs.1730-1733; Richter 1984, p.225, fig.185; Smith 1988, IA, pl.I, nos.1-3, IB pl.I, nos.4-6.

present on the small terracotta as on the marble herm. Therefore, at first, the small votive head seems to relay on the type of that Lysippean portrait for its prototype.

On closer examination, other portraits of Alexander seem to relate as fittingly to M16d as the Azara Herm. The Chatsworth House head of Alexander, for example, shows the same characteristics of the type: the line across the triangular-shaped forehead, the linear brow and eyes, the shape of the mouth, the heavy chin, the twist of the neck to the right¹⁶. The most convincing similarity with votive head M16d can be found in the hair rendering: a crown of thick curls framing the face, falling as far as the neck with, above the forehead, two rigid locks, the ends of which curl down on either side. These two standing locks of hair are a characteristic feature of the best and most certain of the portraits of Alexander, as in the Azara Herm, but, unlike the Azara Herm, on the Chatsworth head they are combined with a thick wealth of curls and a round-sectioned fillet on top of the head, like on M16d. The crown of thick curls framing the face and falling as low as the neck is typical of 4th century B.C. representations of great divinities like Zeus, Poseidon and Apollo. This characteristic was transferred to the deified Alexander, especially in his idealised representations as Apollo of which the Chatsworth House head is one¹⁷.

The Eubuleus from the Agora shows similar hairstyle in length, volume and fillet¹⁸, as do a marble head of Alexander in the BM¹⁹ and a marble head in the NCG. of 3rd century B.C. said to be from Alexandria²⁰.

But the original prototype for head M16d is to be found in a small marble head in the Greco-Roman Museum at Alexandria, a portrait of Alexander with

¹⁶ Herm in white marble: Furtwängler 1901, pp.212-214.

¹⁷ These representations of deified Alexander are not attributed to Lysippus but to the school of the artist Leochares close to the Ideal Attic style.

¹⁸ Bieber 1964, pl.V, fig.10, a-b.

¹⁹ Cat.Sculpture II, no.1858; BM marbles and Bronzes 1928, no.33; Hinks 1935, p.9, fig.9.

²⁰ L'Orange 1947, p.14, fig.1; Poulsen F. 1951, cat.no.441; Poulsen V. 1954, cat.no.31; Bieber 1964, p.59, fig.58; Smith 1988, p.62; Johansen 1992, pp.66-67, no.24.

"lion's mane", which shows similarities with the Azara Herm²¹. The small head in Alexandria, considered the copy of a portrait by Lysippus, is not a replica of the type of the Azara Herm, in spite of the likeness between the two. The small marble head is a more youthful image of Alexander the Great than the one in the Louvre, where a mature king is represented. Furthermore, the composition of the hair locks on the Alexandrine head show a development independent from that of the Azara head. It has been suggested that the original (presumably bronze) work by Lysippus, of which the Alexandria head is a copy, represents a link between the type of the Azara Herm and the later portraits of the king by the great artist²². (Fig.13)

M16d is strikingly like the small herm from Alexandria in every feature: the hair rendering is duplicated in detail, even in the slight off-setting of the middle parting; corresponding are the rounded volume of the back of the head, held by the fillet, the shape of the face, of the mouth, of the nose and the profile with the thick, slanting chin.

The portraits of Alexander were very popular in antiquity and it can be assumed that the circulation of numerous copies must have followed shortly the creation of the originals, probably not later than the earlier part of the 3rd century B.C. What is remarkable about M16d is the precise and accurate reproduction of the prototype. It follows that the buyer of the terracotta was, presumably, aware of acquiring, rather than a generic representation of a male type, a specific image of the Macedonian king.

MALE HEAD: BM.1839.2-14.13

M16a

Campanari Collection

²¹ Schreiber 1903, pl.IB, pp.41-43; Botti 'Catalogue des monuments exposé au Musée Gréc-Romain d'Alexandrie' 1901.

²² Schreiber 1903, p.41.

SIZE

H.25.5cm; base of chin to forehead 14.4cm; distance external eye corners 18cm; internal eye corner to ear lobe 8.2cm; mouth 3.8cm.

CLAY

Light creamy colour, numerous inclusions visible, fine to medium in size, mostly black volcanic crystals, red pozzolana, some quartz crystals.

ANATOMY

Fine head of youth modelled in the round, the neck is slightly twisted towards the right conferring to the head a gentle inclination to the side. The face is oval in shape with flat cheeks, chin full and rounded and high forehead slanting in profile. The eyebrows are pronounced and close to the eyes which are shallowly rendered, wide-set and almond shaped. The eyes gaze to the side and slightly upwards. The nose is long, particularly conspicuous in profile, with wide bridge, fleshy tip and nostrils. The mouth is placed close to the nose with full lips slightly pouting in profile and corners just turning into the suggestion of a smile. The ears are small, slightly protruding and not very well delineated, the right one placed lower than the left one. The short neck curves out into a ring-base.

HAIRSTYLE

The short, curly hair is rendered in detail only at the front; the back of the head is smoothed and the hairstyle is simply indicated by shallow and irregular incisions in the clay with a pointed tool. The short locks are arranged around the forehead and at the sides of the face in front of the ears in a disorderly manner, as wind swept in different directions. The details of the individual curls are emphasised by careful incisions with a sharp tool.

PARALLELS

One identical head from Caere of the same generation matrix is in the MGE²³. Heads related to this type come from votive deposits of the 3rd and 2nd centuries B.C. in Latium²⁴. Two heads from Caere related, but of inferior quality, to M16a are in Pavia²⁵.

MALE VEILED HEAD: BM.1956.1-6.7

M16b

Donated by Mrs.G.C.Conway

SIZE

H.16cm; base chin to forehead 8.8cm; external eye corners 4.7cm; mouth 2cm; internal eye corner to ear lobe 4.5cm.

CLAY

Orange in colour, numerous inclusions visible, fine in size, mostly black volcanic particles, quartz crystals, little red pozzolana and white shelly inclusions. Smooth surface with traces of red pigment surviving on the face.

ANATOMY

Fine head of youth with long oval face, high forehead, strong jaw and rounded chin with a small dimple in the middle. The linear, arched eyebrows are placed close to the eyes, the eyes are large with well defined lids. The nose is long and straight with fleshy tip and nostrils, the well outlined mouth, placed close to the nose, has full parted lips. The small ears are accurately represented, the left one placed slightly higher than the right one. The neck is long and broad interrupted just above shoulder level.

²³ H.26cm the same size as BM.1839.214.13: inv.no.20290, Kaschnitz Weinberg 1925, p.329, fig.1; Hafner 1966-67, p.40 taf.11.1; *Civiltà degli Etruschi* p.386, 17.2.1.5. In the MGE also another head of the same type closely related: inv.no.13823.

²⁴ *Enea nel Lazio* pp.261-262, D 257; p.263, D 259-260; La Regina in *Lavinium* II, pp.228, 250, fig.118 group IV.

²⁵ Invernizzi-Tomaselli-Zezza 1983, pp.25-26, fig.T8, p.146, fig.T9, p.147.

HAIRSTYLE

The veil covers the slightly squashed rear part of the head and neck; at the back is a vent-hole, 2.6cm in diameter. The hairstyle is short and curly, arranged in lines of thick ringlets curling upwards from the forehead framing the forehead and the sides of the face in front of the ears.

MALE HEAD: BM.1926.3-24.102

M16c

SIZE

H.14cm; base of chin to forehead 8.5cm; external eye corners 5cm; mouth 2cm; internal eye corner to ear lobe 4.3cm.

CLAY

Pale creamy colour, numerous inclusions visible, fine in size, mostly black particles, red pozzolana and mica. Traces of red pigment survive on the neck.

ANATOMY

Fine small male head modelled in the round, possibly made in one piece, with short neck curving out to form a slight ring base. The neck has a twist that allows the head to turn from right-to-left, the movement is further suggested by the gaze of the eyes. The round face is almost entirely free of hair, the forehead is wide and high, straight in profile but with a slight swelling, the cheek bones are not prominent, the chin is rounded with a small dimple in the middle. The eyebrows are linear, straight and placed close to the deep-set eyes which are small, oblong with inner corners deeply indented and gazing steadily in front. The long nose, with wide bridge and fleshy, prominent tip and nostrils, is fairly straight, forming, in profile, a continuous line with the forehead.

The mouth is small with full parted lips turning slightly upwards at the corners in a faint smile, stressed by the lines at the side of the mouth. The ears are small and partially represented.

HAIRSTYLE

The hairstyle is short and curly with a slight parting in the middle and two small circular facing locks over the forehead. In profile a series of three S-shaped curls, starting as thick curls and thinning at the end, frames the face from the forehead to the ear. On the top and back of the head the hair is rendered quite crudely, as massive flattened locks.

MALE HEAD: BM.1974.8-12.11

M16d

Found unregistered

SIZE

H.16.8cm; base chin to forehead 9.2cm; external eye corners 4.6cm; mouth 1.6cm.

CLAY

Deep orange colour, not many inclusions visible, surface polish still visible in places (neck), pitted surface on face and hair.

ANATOMY

Male head modelled in the round, restored on the back of the neck. The head pivots on the neck towards the right side in an almost brusque movement. The face is long and oval in shape with high cheek-bones and strong, wide and rounded chin. The wide, almost triangular-shaped forehead is crossed by a line creating a slight bulging area above the bridge of the nose. The prominent, frowning eyebrows are linear, placed over large eyes with sharp corners, well delineated upper lids, and pupils rendered by circular incisions. The eyes gaze intensely in front and slightly upwards. The nose, damaged on the bridge, is long with wide nostrils; the mouth is small with full, slightly parted lips. The neck is strong and broad, twisted towards to the right.

HAIRSTYLE

The back of the head shows a sharp and definite line running from the middle all the way down the roundness of the cranium. This line seems to indicate a juncture rather than a parting of the hairstyle, the area delimited by it is an almost perfect half-globe. The whole volume of the hair is very bulky and it appears to have been assembled in three parts: the back mould, formed in two halves, attached to the front mould by means of the sides and back strands applied separately around the head. The hairstyle is long, held in place by a fillet and cascading in curly locks all around the sides and nape of the neck. Over the forehead the hair is parted in the middle with two prominent circular curls falling on the temples. The ears are covered by the mass of curls, two small ringlets escape at the sides and coil gracefully on the cheeks. On the rounded back of the head the hair strands are indicated by incisions in the clay, partly delimited within more or less shallow areas of volume. The curly locks around the face are plastically rendered, each strand also defined and detailed by incisions in the clay. The fillet around the head is little visible and a knot at the top of the head is present but damaged.

GROUP 17

This is a large and popular group comprising ten heads, all derived from one type: M17aI (BM.1839.2-14.12), M17aII (BM.1839.2-14.15), M17aIII (BM.1839.2-14.3), M17aIV (BM.1839.2-14.4), M17aV (BM.1839.2-14.5), M17bI (BM.1839.2-14.20), M17bII (BM.1839.2-14.39), MM17bIII (BM.1839.2-14.24), M17bIV (BM.1839.2-14.22) and M17bV (BM.1839.2-14.50), the only veiled example in the group.

The original type is known from numerous examples, as a full, free-standing head, M17aI, or in profile, both right and left sides, M17aIII; M17aV. This type is believed to have been created at Caere, from where many of the surviving heads come¹.

For the British Museum's heads M17aIII, M17aIV and M17aV, J.Turfa recognises a style influenced by 2nd century B.C. Chiusine urn decoration and affinities with late Republican Roman portraiture². However, both dating and models are not convincing.

The prototype for M17a is directly inspired by Hellenistic portraiture, more specifically the early portrait of Alexander by Lysippus known from the Dressel head in Dresden³. (Fig.14) The likeness between the heads of this type and the Greek sculpture is remarkable⁴. The resemblance is stressed by the head posture, the almost identical, strong, masculine features and, notably, by the distinctive hairstyle with full, disorderly locks swept to one side over the forehead, on the cheeks and neck. The Dresden Alexander is infused of dynamism and is perhaps the more individualised of the young king's portraits, which is possibly the reason why this type is so popular amongst votive deposits. Hafner argues that the manner in which the original is accurately

¹ Kaschnitz-Weinberg 1924-25, p.338, figs.6-7; Hafner 1966-7, p.44, pl.14, nos.1-2; Invernizzi-Tomaselli-Zezza 1983, p.27.

² Turfa 1986, no.3.

³ In the Albertinum: Bieber 1964, p.27, pl.VII, fig.12; Smith 1988, 3A, pl.3, nos.1-2.

⁴ Hafner says that they correspond in all details: Hafner 1966-7, p.44.

reproduced, suggests a first-hand awareness of the art of Lysippus, advancing a dating in the early part of the 3rd century B.C.⁵. The popularity of this type of head is supported by the existence of female types, like F6bI, derived and closely related to it.

Head M17b is a slightly later version of M17a, derived from successive generations of matrix, therefore smaller in size, more generic and simplified in details, which represents a younger, barely adolescent type of individual. The hairstyle is modified to suit the local clientele, showing a typically Italic style with short hair combed forward in a full fringe with well defined strands. This coiffure, depicted on numerous examples of central Italian art, is dated from the middle of the 3rd century B.C.⁶

MALE HEAD: BM.1839.2-14.12

M17aI

Campanari Collection

SIZE

H.28cm; max.width 18cm; base of chin to forehead 15cm; distance between external eye corners 8cm; mouth 3.7cm; tip of nose to ear lobe 11cm; external eye corner to ear lobe 6.6cm.

CLAY

Pink-orange colour, numerous inclusions visible, fine to coarse in size, mostly red-brown pozzolana, some black particles. Surface rough to the touch of very dark appearance due to decayed red pigment.

ANATOMY

Head and neck of youth modelled in the round. The face is long and oval in shape with pronounced, high cheek-bones and prominent rounded chin, slightly receding in profile. The forehead is high and broad, slightly narrow at the

⁵ Hafner 1966-7, pp.44, 49-50.

⁶ Chapter 8.

temples, with distinct occipital bone. The eyebrows are heavy and close to the eyes, straight at the front but turning downwards at the sides, conferring to the face a "boxer"-like look. The eyes are wide, deep-set and close-set, with narrow, deeply marked eyelids and sharp inner and outer corners. The left eye is more poorly rendered than the right one; noticeable swellings are present under the lower eyelids. The nose is long and straight in profile with a slight hump on the broad ridge, fleshy, but pointed in profile, tip and wide nostrils. Again the nose appears broken, adding to the, tough "boxer" look of the face. The, not too wide, mouth, placed close to the nose, is narrow with full, shapely, slightly parted lips just turning-up at the corners. The ears are fairly large and placed well at the sides of the head towards the back; the shape of the right and left ear differs considerably, the right being better formed and the left being positioned lower. The neck is long and broad widening at the base on which the head stands.

HAIRSTYLE

The hair is only rendered at the front and sides, the back of the head is smoothed and the hairstrands are indicated only by a few shallow, vertical incisions. Frontally the hair is defined as a full mob of medium length strands; over the forehead is a side parting with the hair swept to the left in well defined locks of varying thickness and pointed ends. At the sides and along the neck similar winding strands curl forward over the temples, cheeks and in front and below the ears, where they are slightly longer. The hairstyle is better illustrated on the left side of the head.

PARALLELS

Many examples of this type survive, several from Caere are in the MGE⁷, or deriving from that collection, as three heads in Pavia⁸ and one is in Brussels⁹.

⁷ Inv.no.13972, same generation matrix, same matrix of M17aII: Hafner 1966-7, pl.14, nos.1-2; inv.nos.13853, 13990, with modified hairstyle and 14002.

⁸ Whole head same matrix of M17aII: Invernizzi-Tomaselli-Zezza 1983, p.27, T10; and two half heads from the same matrix of M17aV: Invernizzi-Tomaselli-Zezza 1983, pp.27-28, T11, T12.

⁹ On display in the Musée Royal d'Art et d'Histoire, inv.no.A.3685.

Other heads of Caeretan origin are in Cerveteri¹⁰. Examples of type M17a have also been retrieved at Pyrgi¹¹, Veii¹² and at Cales in Campania¹³. One example is in the Villa Giulia Museum in Rome¹⁴ and one is in the Louvre¹⁵.

MALE HEAD: BM.1839.2-14.15

M17aII

Campanari Collection

SIZE

H.25cm; max.width 15.5cm; base of chin to forehead 13.2cm; distance between external eye corners 7cm; tip of nose to ear lobe 9.2cm; external eye corner to ear lobe 5.5cm; mouth 3.3cm.

CLAY

Pale yellow-creamy colour, numerous inclusions visible, fine to coarse in size, mostly black volcanic crystals, quartz crystals, red-brown pozzolana. Surface rough to the touch, red paint survives on the face and neck. Extensively damaged specimen on the neck and right side.

Same type of M17aI, almost identical but slightly smaller in size and with trifling variations on the hairstyle. Probably from the same generation matrix.

¹⁰ From the Hera Temple now in the Magazzino at Cerveteri: Bartoloni 1970(b), p.568.

¹¹ Temple A deposit, inv.nos. 15221, 15320, 14447, whole heads and 15046, right profiles: Bartoloni 1970(b), p.568ff., nos.1-2, fig.416.

¹² Six examples from the deposit at Comunità now in the Museo Nazionale Romano, inv.no.47165.

¹³ Blazquez 1961, pl.XVIII, fig.23.

¹⁴ Bartoloni 1970(b), p.568.

¹⁵ Inv.no.ED2090.

MALE HEAD, RIGHT PROFILE: BM.1839.2-14.4

M17aIII

Campanari Collection

SIZE

H.25cm; max.width 17cm; base of chin to forehead 13.4cm; external eye corner to ear lobe 8cm.

CLAY

Pale creamy colour, few small inclusions visible, mostly black volcanic crystals and red-brown pozzolana. Much red pigment survives on the face and yellow on the hair. A vent hole 4cm in diameter is on the flat back.

MALE HEAD, RIGHT PROFILE: BM.1839.2-14.3

M17aIV

Campanari Collection

SIZE

H.25cm; base of chin to forehead 13.4cm; max.width 17.5cm; mouth 2.2cm; nose 4.3cm; internal eye corner to ear lobe 8cm.

CLAY

Pale creamy colour, more inclusions visible than on M17aIII but from the same batch of clay, mostly black particles, red-brown pozzolana, some quartz crystals. Red pigment survives on the face and neck, yellow on the hair. A vent hole, 4cm in diameter, is on the flat back of the head. Along the edges of the back are lines running the length of the neck, made with the side of a smoothing tool, flattening the edges and probably removing excess clay. Below the vent hole is a lump, possibly produced by the uneven leaf of clay used to fashion the back. Inside the head, in correspondence with the hair, several parallel lines, as if made with a combing tool, are visible.

M17aIII and M17aIV are manufacture from the same matrix and of the same generation with M17aI and M17aII.

MALE HEAD, LEFT PROFILE: BM.1839.2-14.5

M17aV

Campanari Collection

On display in the British Museum. Measurements not available, smaller in size than M17aIII and M17aIV, from a later generation matrix but of better manufacture, more carefully made, well finished in details. This head is probably from the same matrix as one Caeretan head in Pavia¹⁶. Much red pigment survives on the face and yellow on the hair.

MALE HEAD OF YOUTH: BM.1839.2-14.20

M17bI

Campanari Collection

SIZE

H.16cm; base of chin to forehead 11cm; mouth 2.8cm; external eye corners 6.2cm; tip of nose to ear lobe 8.3cm.

CLAY

Pale creamy clay, surface fairly smooth to the touch, numerous inclusions visible, fine to medium in size, mostly black volcanic crystals, red-brown pozzolana, mica and some quartz crystals. Traces of red pigment survive on the face and on the hair.

ANATOMY

Head of youth modelled in the round. The face is rounded with full cheeks and round, prominent chin, the forehead is wide but low, partly covered by the fringe. The eyebrows are heavy and placed close to the eyes, the eyes, poorly rendered, are large and deep-set. The nose is long, wide across the bridge with fleshy tip and wings. The mouth presents full, slightly pouting lips. The ears,

¹⁶ H.26.5cm, ex-Vatican collection: Invernizzi-Tomaselli-Zezza, pp.27-28, T11.

large and slightly protruding at the sides, are roughly made and attached to the rear mould. The neck is broken below the chin on the right side.

HAIRSTYLE

The hair is indicated only at the front, around the forehead and sides in front of the ears, as a short, straight fringe slightly raised and emphasised by shallow incisions in the clay. The top and back of the head is simply smoothed and no incisions are present to evidence hair strands. The slight bulge of the fringe is also covering the junction between the front and rear mould.

PARALLELS

In the MGE are two example of this type from the same generation matrix¹⁷.

MALE HEAD OF YOUTH: BM.1839.2-14.39

M17bII

Campanari Collection

SIZE

H.20cm; base of chin to forehead 10.4cm; external eye corners 6cm; mouth 2.7cm; internal eye corner to ear lobe 6.5cm.

CLAY

Pink-orange colour, surface darkened due to decayed pigment still visible as red paint in places, few inclusions visible, mostly small black volcanic particles. Surface slightly rough to the touch.

Same type as M17bI, possibly of the same generation matrix, with modifications. The back of the head is projecting and the hair is indicated by incisions in the clay all over. The ears are better rendered than on the previous example, but, as on M17bI, slightly asymmetrical with the left larger and lower than the right one. The chin is less rounded than on M17bI and presents a

¹⁷ Inv.nos.14005, 14019.

dimple in the middle. The nose is slightly shorter and less fleshy at the tip. The head rests on a ring base.

MALE HEAD OF YOUTH: BM.1839.2-14.24

M17bIII

Campanari Collection

SIZE

H.17cm; base of chin to forehead 10.3cm; external eye corners 6cm; mouth 2.5cm; tip of nose to ear lobe 7cm.

CLAY

Pale creamy colour, numerous inclusions visible, fine to medium in size, mostly black volcanic particles, red-brown pozzolana. Traces of red pigment survive on the face and neck.

Although the measurements correspond with M17bII, this head is of inferior quality to the previous example, indicating a parallel, but debased, mould of the same generation.

MALE HEAD OF YOUTH: BM.1839.2-14.22

M17bIV

Campanari Collection

SIZE

H.19.5cm; base of chin to forehead 10cm; external eye corners 6cm; internal eye corner to ear lobe 5.5cm; mouth 2.7cm.

CLAY

Pale creamy colour, few inclusions visible, fine to medium in size, mostly black volcanic particles, some mica. Much red pigment survives on the face and neck.

Possibly from the same generation matrix of M17bIII.

MALE VEILED HEAD OF YOUTH:

M17bV

BM.1839.2-14.50

Campanari Collection

SIZE

H.22.5cm; base of chin to forehead 10cm; external eye corners 5.8cm; mouth 2.4cm; internal eye corners to ear lobe 5.7cm.

CLAY

Pale creamy colour, light in weight, smooth surface to the touch. Numerous inclusions visible, fine to coarse in size, mostly black volcanic particles and red-brown pozzolana, a little mica. Traces of red pigment survive on the face and of white slip or paint on the veil.

The type is the same of M17bI, but just smaller in size to reveal a following generation matrix. This type is set apart by the presence of a distinctive veil that stands up around the face and narrows towards the neck. At the back the veil is rounded to follow the contour of the head and neck. On the neck is present a double "Venus ring".

GROUP 18

Group 18 consist of two heads not directly related to each other. They form a group apart in representing adolescent individuals not derived from other types, as in the case of M17b, of comparable size and quality. They are fairly unremarkable heads rooted in the 3rd century B.C.middle Italic artistic tradition, evidenced by their hairstyle and dependence from contemporary and earlier bronze-works.

On head M18a a certain likeness with the type of M17bI can be observed, although a positive connection with the type is difficult to establish.

Head M18b is an even more generic type and does not present specific links with other groups.

MALE HEAD OF YOUTH: BM.1839.2-14.25

M18a

Campanari Collection

SIZE

H.22cm; base of chin to forehead 12cm; external eye corners 7cm; internal eye corner to ear lobe 7cm; mouth 3cm.

CLAY

Creamy colour, numerous inclusions visible, mostly black volcanic crystals and red pozzolana. Traces of red pigment survive on the face and neck.

ANATOMY

Head of youth modelled in the round. The face is long and oval in shape, the forehead is wide, partly covered by the hair, the cheeks are full and the chin is heavy and rounded with a pronounced, deep dimple in the middle. The eyebrows are linear and fairly straight, the wide-set eyes are large and rounded in shape, poorly rendered. Under the eyes the cheeks form a "puffy" area; a similar puffiness is present at the corners of the small mouth. The nose is not long but quite thick and broad with fleshy tip and nostrils. The lips are full and slightly pouting. Under the prominent chin is a "double-chin", followed, on the

neck, by a "Venus ring". The ears are small but project at the sides. The neck terminates into a ring base.

HAIRSTYLE

The short hairstyle is arranged around the forehead and sides of the face, in front of the ears, in a series of unruly, plastic locks forming a sort of fringe. The details of the hair strands are filled in by incisions in the clay with a sharp tool. The back of the head is slightly squashed and very coarsely smoothed.

MALE HEAD OF YOUTH: BM.1839.2-14.21

M18b

Campanari Collection

SIZE

H.19.8cm; base of chin to forehead 11cm; external eye corners 6cm; mouth 2.6cm; internal eye corner to ear lobe 7cm.

CLAY

Creamy colour, surface smooth to the touch few inclusions visible, mostly black volcanic particles. Traces of red pigment survive on the face and neck.

ANATOMY

Head of youth modelled in the round. The face is wide and rounded in shape with full cheeks, low forehead and rounded, jutting chin. The eyebrows are arched and very close to the wide, rounded eyes, very poorly rendered. The nose is short but fleshy with wide bridge and slightly flaring nostrils. The small mouth pouts noticeably with the tightly shut lips. The ears are very crudely rendered, the right one is partly missing. The stout neck widens into a base.

HAIRSTYLE

Only a narrow band of hair is indicated around the forehead and sides of the face in a sort of disorderly fringe of locks with pointed ends. The details of the hair strands are faintly underlined by incisions in the clay.

GROUP 19

Group 19 includes five heads of male children. The type of M19aI and M19aII show distinct similarities with the type of M11a and is probably derived from it. The shape of the face, the features, particularly the parted mouth, the wide, oblong eyes, the delicate nose with the deeply indented nostrils, the large ears, are comparable. Also the hairstyle, rendered on these two heads simply by incisions on an, otherwise, smooth head, is intended to represent the same straight, cap-like coiffure of Group 11.

M19b is a child's head rendered very much like a doll, with deeply sunken eyeballs and rounded, puffy features.

M19c and M19d are typical examples of the numerous representations of children found in most votive deposits¹. Similar heads have been compared to Hellenistic Heros types, particularly to the Eros by Lysippus². This type of head can be dated within the 3rd century B.C., when these images of small children become popular under the influence of Hellenistic art.

HEAD OF MALE CHILD: BM.1839.2-14.19

M19aI

Campanari Collection

SIZE

H.21cm; base of chin to forehead 12.8cm; external eye corners 6.4cm; mouth 3cm; internal eye corner to ear lobe 7.6cm.

CLAY

Pale creamy colour, surface smooth to the touch, numerous inclusions visible, mostly black volcanic particles and red-brown pozzolana.

¹ From the Tiber: Pensabene 1980, pp.222-223, nos.552-553; from Lavinium: *Enea nel Lazio*, p.208, D 123; from Lucera: Bartoccini 1940, p.193, fig.9, 3.

² Hafner 1966-67, p.46, pl.16, no.3; pl.17, nos.1-2.

ANATOMY

Head of male child modelled in the round with slightly projecting cranium at the back. The face is round shaped with broad forehead, high cheek-bones and rounded, slightly pitched, dimpled chin. The large, oblong eyes are poorly rendered and faded, the eyebrows are virtually nonexistent. The nose is short and delicate, with narrow bridge and well-shaped, slightly flaring, wings deeply indented at the nostrils. The mouth is wide with lips parted in a suggestion of smile. Between the nose and the mouth is a marked depression. The ears are large, fairly detailed and protruding at the sides. The neck is broken at the base.

HAIRSTYLE

The few, roughly and shallowly incised lines that display the hair strands, indicate a straight fringe over the forehead and short locks at the sides and back of the head.

HEAD OF MALE CHILD: BM.1839.2-14.18

M19aII

Campanari Collection

SIZE

H.21.5cm; base of chin to forehead 12cm; external eye corners 7cm; mouth 2.8cm; internal eye corner to ear lobe 7.3cm.

CLAY

Light pink colour, surface smooth to the touch, numerous inclusion visible, fine to medium in size, mostly black volcanic crystals, red-brown pozzolana, some mica.

Same type of M19aI, slightly smaller in size but not enough to justify a following generation matrix. The mouth on this example is not parted as on M19aI, a detail which suggest a parallel matrix of same generation.

Found unregistered

SIZE

H.15cm; base of chin to forehead 13cm; external eye corners 7cm; nose 3.5cm; mouth 3cm; internal eye corner to ear lobe 6cm.

CLAY

Creamy-pink colour, surface smooth to the touch, numerous inclusions visible, mostly black volcanic crystals and little mica.

ANATOMY

Head of child modelled in the round, severed just below the chin, restored at the back. The face is round and full with broad forehead, puffy cheeks and small, round, dimpled chin. The heavy brows are placed very close to the large, oblong eyes. The eyes are deep-set, contoured by narrow lids with deeply sunken eyeballs. The iris and pupil of the eyes are rendered very realistically with incised circles and dots. The nose is short and straight, with narrow bridge and slightly flaring nostrils. The mouth is wide with full, parted lips slightly pouting. The little ears are very accurately modeled and are sticking out at the sides.

HAIRSTYLE

The hairstyle is evidenced simply by a series of incisions on the surface indicating short, curly locks.

Campanari Collection

SIZE

H.17.8cm; base of chin to forehead 10.5cm; external eye corners 6cm; internal eye corner to ear lobe 5.9cm; mouth 2.7cm.

CLAY

Pale creamy colour, surface rough to the touch, numerous inclusions visible, fine to small in size, mostly black volcanic crystals, mica, quartz crystals and red-brown pozzolana.

ANATOMY

Head of small child, almost an infant, squashed at the back, with damaged nose tip. The face is round and chubby with a smiling expression conveyed by the raised cheeks and the turned up corners of the slightly parted mouth. The forehead is very wide and spacious, the chin is round and dimpled. The eyebrows are flat and close to the oblong, narrowed eyes, the nose is small and short, the lips are full. The ears are small but projecting at the sides. The chubby neck forms a ring base.

HAIRSTYLE

The hairstyle is the same as displayed by M19a, short with straight fringe over the forehead. On this example it is better rendered by neat, wavy locks; the details are highlighted by shallow incisions in the clay.

MALE HEAD OF CHILD: BM.1839.2-14.40

M19d

Campanari Collection

SIZE

H.16.5cm; base of chin to forehead 9.8cm; external eye corners 5cm; mouth 2.2cm; internal eye corner to ear lobe 4cm.

CLAY

Pink-orange colour, surface rough to the touch, numerous large inclusions visible, mostly black-grey volcanic particles and quartz crystals.

ANATOMY

Head of small male child, almost an infant. The back of the head is very bulky and the juncture with the front mould is clearly visible. The face is round and chubby with wide forehead, pronounced cheeks and prominent, rounded chin. The eyebrows are flat, the eyes are small, oblong and poorly rendered. The short nose is damaged, the mouth is parted with full, smiling lips. The ears are large and pronounced. The neck is damaged.

HAIRSTYLE

The hairstyle is rendered on this head as a mass of unruly, short curls, just as a small child would display. The curls are present only around the forehead and sides, at the back the hair is simply indicated by incised lines.

PARALLELS

This type is probably of Caeretan origin, as several examples from that locality are known³.

³ From the deposit at the Tempio del Manganello: Mengarelli 1935, pl.23, 3; Richter G. *Ancient Italy*. University of Michigan 1955, fig.115; in Pavia ex-Vatican collection: Invernizzi-Tomaselli-Zezza 1983, p.38, T24.

MALE GROUP MISCELLANEOUS

Head MM1 (BM.1974.8-12.2) resembles more a canopic vase than a votive head, in the shape of the head, in the wide neck, in the huge linear brows, the undeveloped eye form, the sharp, nose, long thin mouth, low forehead and in the hair rendering with applied strands and details added as geometric features. The receding, pointed chin and the shape of the ears are also characteristic of canopic urns.

Head MM2 (BM.1772.3-16.4) is also an indigenous Italic type. Similar examples have been retrieved at Cerveteri from the deposit of the "Tempio del Manganello" and have been described by Mengarelli as: "tipo idiotico", "tipo convenzionale", "aspetto volgare", "aspetto melanconico"¹.

In the MGE is a female head with polos derived from the same prototype and presumably from a related matrix². Another male head in the Vatican is related to it³; the analogy of features is less marked but the type is the same with the geometric cap, prominent circular ears and thick neck.

A very similar type of head found in the votive deposit at Ghiaccio Forte, dated to the late 4th-early 3rd centuries B.C., shows the same head structure, round, smooth and cap-like, sharply defined at the edges and around the ears⁴. The features are also geometric but less emphasized, the eyes are not so wide and slanting and the long neck terminates into a flat ring base.

The type is also present in Campania at Teano, where the same archaic, provincial linearity of features with wide, staring eyes and heavy jaw, are present⁵. For the heads from Teano, Johannowsky perceives the influence of western Greek types of the 5th century, but acknowledges the Italic indigenous

¹ Mengarelli 1935, p.91ff.

² Inv.no.13771; Steingraber 1980, pl.72.2.

³ Steingraber 1980, pl.72.1.

⁴ Del Chiaro 1974, pl.78, no.7b.

⁵ Johannowsky 1963, p.143, fig.10, nos.c, f, g, h.

nature expressed by the suppression of all superfluous detail⁶. The heads from Teano also recall heads on Samnite coins from Cumae, which have suggested a date in the early 4th century B.C.⁷

Head MM3 (BM.1772.3-16.2), also an indigenous Italic type, shows similarities with Capuan examples⁸. The physiognomic likeness is found in the shape of the head, in the slanting forehead-brow-nose line, in the heavy, projecting jaw and chin line, in the pinched, odd mouth, in the shape of the ears and, particularly, in the manner in which the hair is applied to the head in small lumps of clay. This type is described by Bonghi Jovino as Italic, owing to the hairstyle, a genuine product of a Capuan workshop dated to the first half of the 3rd century B.C.⁹

The hairstyle on head MM4 is of middle Italic tradition with small fringe over the forehead, and is rendered in a manner similar to many other votive heads like, for example, M17bI.

The type of MM5 shows a thick round-sectioned fillet over the top of the head. This kind of ornament is part of the iconography of the young Asklepios¹⁰. According to Pausanias a statue of Machaon also had such a crown¹¹. The type of this head can be compared with examples from Capua, also with straight, slightly parted, fringe and fillet of Italic production influenced by Hellenistic models¹². This type of head is not found in votive deposits outside Campania. It is possible that the prototypes for the Capuan

⁶ Johannowsky 1963, pp.144-146.

⁷ Breglia L. in *Le Arti* IV, 1941-42, pl. XI, 4.

⁸ Bonghi Jovino 1965 I, pl. XXXIX Nx1, 1-2.; H.24cm, inv.no.2378. The head is made of local clay which is light in colour unlike the deep red of the BM's example.

⁹ Bonghi Jovino 1965, p.81. The dating is largely based on the chronology proposed by Dohrn for this type of hairstyle: Dohrn 1937, p.119-139.

¹⁰ Kerényi 1947, p.93, figs.49-50; Krug A. *Binden in der griechischen Kunst*. Dissertation Mainz 1967, pp.128-130.

¹¹ Pausanias 3, 26, 9.

¹² Bonghi Jovino 1965, Group R, pp.101-102, pl. XLIX, 1-4; pl. L, 1-4; LI, 1-4; LII, 1-3; LIII, 1-4; LIV, 1-3.

examples are of late 4th, early 3rd centuries B.C., as the hairstyle, at times, recalls early Hellenistic types. Comparable with MM5 is, on most of the Campanian heads, the manner of arranging the hair, drawn from the crown towards the ears over the cheeks. The hairstyle can also be paralleled with Tarentine examples influenced by Polycleitan models¹³.

The short hairstyle with heavy fringe on the forehead of MM6, a sort which becomes fashionable in central Italy in the late 6th century B.C., the sweeping eyebrows and huge eyes, are Etruscan characteristics of late Archaic male figures, particularly small votive bronzes¹⁴. Also dependent from late Archaic small bronze work is head MM7¹⁵.

MALE HEAD: BM.1974.8-12.2

MM1

Found unregistered

SIZE

H.19.5cm; base of chin to forehead 13.2cm; external eye corners 8cm; internal eye corner to ear lobe 8cm; nose 4.5cm; mouth 5.5cm.

CLAY

Dark orange colour, with much white slip surviving on the surface of the face and neck but not on the hair; abundant inclusions, some coarse and large in size, mostly black augite, spongy and crystals, red pozzolana, numerous quartz crystals, a few large in size, mica, grey flints.

¹³ Lunsingh-Scheurleer R.A. 'Beiträge zur Tarantinischen Kunstgeschichte.' *La Critica d'Arte* II, 1937, p.209, pl.150, 16.

¹⁴ Parallels can be found with E.Richardson's late Archaic kouroi series B group 2: Richardson 1983, pp.150-153, pl.92-98, particularly fig.347, pl.98, a small votive head in West Berlin Staatliche Museum.

¹⁵ Again kouroi of Series B, Group 2: Richardson 1983, pl.94, fig.335, pp.150-151, from Marzabotto, in the Museo Civico Archeologico, Bologna; pl.96, fig.341, p.152, in the Metropolitan Museum, New York.

ANATOMY

Large and heavy male head made in one piece with slightly grotesque and schematic features. The head is modelled in the round with fairly flat top, sloping, bulky back. Frontally the face is almost triangular in shape with a pointed chin which displays a deep dimple in the middle. In profile the chin is very pronounced, sharply pointed and out-turning. The forehead is very narrow, almost nonexistent, replaced by huge sweeping, thick, linear eyebrows. The eyes are small, oblong and rendered simply by circular eyelids outlined by incisions. The nose is short, straight and stumpy, the bridge of the nose joins the line of the eyebrows. From the sides of the nostrils the clay is "pinched" to form a semicircular line, converging at the centre of the chin, indicating the cheeks. This feature, together with the shape of the mouth, confers to the face a grin. The mouth is large, irregularly outlined, with pouting lips down-turned at the corners. The ears are small, placed well at the back of the head and shaped in a manner that can only be described as "cauliflower ears". The neck is short and stout turning out slightly around the edges to form a stand.

HAIRSTYLE

The hair gives the impression of a wig sitting on top and on the back of the head. This impression is upheld by the rigidity of the hair mass and stiff outline. Over the forehead is a sort of, slightly raised, fringe; the details of the hair strands are indicated by vertical incisions. At the sides of the face the hairline neatly falls behind the ears on the neck, at the back of the head the hairline is cut straight across. The curls are indicated over the top of the head by small, deep incisions in the clay running parallel with the fringe and at the back by similar, vertical, regular incisions.

MALE HEAD: BM.1772.3-16.4

MM2

Hamilton Collection, said to be from a tomb in Campania.

SIZE

H.25cm; max.width across face 20.5cm; external eye corners 9cm; nose 6.5cm; mouth 4.5cm.

CLAY

Deep orange colour, numerous inclusions visible, medium in size, mostly black augite, quartz crystals, red-brown pozzolana, mica and some white chalky particles. Very heavy in weight with thick walls.

ANATOMY

Large male head, wide and rounded across the top of the head, almost grotesque in appearance with stylised "geometric" features, the face nearly triangular in shape. The head is wider across the forehead and more pointed towards the dimpled chin. The low forehead is arched and flat, the eyebrows are also prominently arched, following the curvature of the forehead, framing the large, oblong and poorly defined eyes. The eyelids are rendered as thick ridges around the protruding eyeballs, with sharply pointed external corners turning downwards. The damaged nose is long and very prominent, the mouth is small in proportion to the size of the rest of the features but the lips are fleshy and slightly pouting. Between the nose and the upper lip is a considerable gap, adding, together with the long nose and the arched brows, to a general effect of verticality. The ears are crudely made as a C-shaped lump of clay applied to the sides of the head; in the middle of each ear is a hole, presumably acting as disguised vent-holes. The neck is broad but not high.

HAIRSTYLE

The hair is defined by a kind of cap around the head which follows the contour of the face, ears and back of the cranium; the edges of this cap are neatly defined in an almost geometrical fashion. On the top of the head is a small hole, presumably a vent-hole.

MALE HEAD: BM.1772.3-16.2

MM3

Hamilton Collection

SIZE

H.17.5cm; width of base 9cm; width across head 9cm; base of chin to forehead 10.5cm; external eye corners 6cm; mouth 3cm; internal eye corner to ear lobe 7cm.

CLAY

Deep red brick colour, rough surface to the touch, heavy in weight. Numerous angular inclusions visible, fine to coarse in size, mostly black augite, red pozzolana, some mica. Made in one piece without mould.

ANATOMY

Crudely made male head modelled in the round with thick-set features, prominent cheek-bones and heavy, sagging jaw. The head is at its wider point across the cheek bones, less globular and slightly squashed at the back. The forehead is narrow and conspicuously slanting in profile; the eyes are narrow, deep-set and down-turned at the outer corner. The heavy eyelids are rendered by applied lumps of clay, deeply incised, framed by pronounced eyebrows. The nose is very prominent with large, flaring nostrils and wide bridge. The narrow, parted lips are simply rendered by a deep slash in the clay, roughly smoothed around the edges. The chin is damaged and partly missing. The ears, supplied by a lump of clay, are large and stick out at the sides, the left one placed a little further back. The broad neck expands into a circular base.

HAIRSTYLE

The hair is short cropped, arranged in neat, tight ringlets of small U-shaped lumps of clay, applied in regular rows all around the head and thumb-pressed to the skull. These curls are also carefully applied to the back of the head.

MALE HEAD: BM. 1974.8-12.19

MM4

Found unregistered

SIZE

H.17.4cm; base of chin to forehead 14cm; external eye corners 6.5cm; nose 4.3cm; mouth 2.5cm; internal eye corner to ear lobe 7.5cm.

CLAY

Light pink colour, numerous inclusions visible, mostly black volcanic particles, red pozzolana, some mica. Black pigment surviving on the hair, red on the face. Much white slip survives all over the head.

ANATOMY

Male head of youth modelled in the round. The face is oval-shaped with high forehead crossed by a furrow and presenting a swelling above the nose and brow. The jaw-line is fairly square, the chin is pronounced and rounded. The eyebrows are arched, linear and pronounced, the eyes are wide and rounded, rimmed by thick eyelids. The nose is long with broad, humped bridge, fleshy tip and pinched nostrils. The mouth is small with slightly parted lips. The ears are enormously large and protruding at the sides of the face. The neck is broken off.

HAIRSTYLE

The hair is rendered only around the forehead and sides as a narrow strip indicating a slightly parted fringe. Few details of hair strands are added by incisions in the clay with a sharp point.

MALE HEAD :BM.1974.8-12.18

MM5

Found unregistered

SIZE

H.28cm; base of chin to forehead 16cm; external eye corners 10cm; mouth 3.5cm; nose 5.8cm; internal eye corner to ear lobe 9cm.

CLAY

Orange colour, surface smooth to the touch, numerous inclusions visible, mostly black volcanic particles, red pozzolana, some quartz and mica.

ANATOMY

Head of male youth modelled in the round. The head is tilted backwards, the whole face is lifted up, gazing above. The face is long and oval-shape with high cheek bones and prominent, pointed chin. The forehead is mostly covered by the fringe. The eyebrows are arched, linear, close to the eyes and slightly frowning. The eyes are wide and oblong, the upper eyelids are well indicated by sunken and raised areas and by incisions. The iris and pupil of the eyes are marked by incised circle and dots. The long, straight nose forms a continuous line with the forehead. The small mouth with full lips is conspicuously parted, adding to the intense expression of the face. The ears are large and detailed, the neck is long and slender.

HAIRSTYLE

The hairstyle on this head is of medium length, straight with parted fringe over the forehead, plastic in rendering with much detail added by deep and shallow incisions in the clay. The top of the head is simply smoothed. Around the head is a round-sectioned, thick fillet.

MALE HEAD: BM.1843.5-7.334

MM6

Belmore Collection

SIZE

H.11.2cm; base diameter 9cm; base of chin to forehead 6cm; external eye corners 4cm; mouth 2cm; tip of nose to eye corner 2.7cm; internal eye corner to ear lobe 3.4cm.

CLAY

Pale orange colour, numerous inclusions visible on the surface mostly black volcanic particles, mica, quartz crystals, red pozzolana and white shelly inclusions. Almost solid except for a narrow internal hole.

ANATOMY AND HAIRSTYLE

Small male head sitting on a low circular ring-base of a diameter superior to the width of the head itself; made in one piece. The volume of the head is rounded at the top and back. The hair is rendered as a short straight bob resembling a close fitting cap with a well defined edge across the forehead and in front of the ears, like a roll, indicating a fringe. This edge, which frames the upper part of the face in a sort of rectangle, shows a series of shallow, vertical, incised lines indicating the hair strands. The skull is broad, the upper surface makes a low dôme and the sides are quite straight. The face is also broad with very low forehead, big eyes set horizontally and sweeping eyebrows of purely Etruscan quality, flat cheeks and square jaw. The nose is long, straight and flat, the mouth is narrow and turned up at the corners in the characteristic archaic smile. The ears are just visible, placed high and close to the head. The neck is short and rests on top of the ring-base.

PARALLELS

One head of the same type and similar size is in the Danish National Museum, showing a four sided base rather than a ring-base¹⁶.

¹⁶ H.10.6cm, inv.AB b.267, acquired 1856, provenance unknown: Breitenstein 1941, pl.98, no.787.

Found unregistered

SIZE

H.7.4cm; base of chin to forehead 5cm; external eye corners 3cm; mouth 1.4cm; nose 1.7cm; internal eye corner to ear lobe 3.5cm.

CLAY

Deep orange colour, surface almost burnished, numerous inclusions visible, mostly mica, quartz and little black volcanic particles.

ANATOMY.

Small male head, with broad face, low forehead, prominent cheek-bones, square jaw and heavy, square chin. The eyebrows are arched, the big, oblong eyes are slightly slanted with heavy continuous rim. The nose is straight and narrow, the mouth is wide and straight. The back of the cranium is square, the ears are set far back and are circled by the hair, the neck is broad and strong.

HAIRSTYLE

The hair, brushed out from the crown of the head, forms a short fringe over the forehead and a thicker ridge on the nape of the neck. The locks are indicated by deep, close-set incisions.

SYNOPSIS

I Religion

Most of the Greek and Italic deities listed in Chapter 1 had, in some measure, a healing aspect in their cult.

In the Italic world the healing aspect was of paramount importance. Although in Greece therapeutic functions were primarily identified with the cult of Asklepios, in Italy the belief of the worshippers in the healing prerogative of the divine power is deep-rooted in the ancient nature-based worship of the sacred springs, attached to the local worships that had survived through time.

Particularly involved in this capacity were the numerous female deities. Their functions were highly specialised, covering all the needs of their sex, especially those concerning conception, gestation, child-birth and the care of children in infancy. This multitude of major and minor deities and *numina* were mostly of ancient, indigenous Italic origin, their places of cult very often connected with healing waters or other elements of nature.

Diana, for example, later identified with the Greek Artemis, was originally an Italic deity of forest and vegetation. As a protectress of women she had a large entourage of subordinate assistants, whose name were often given to her: Diana Sospita, Diana Nemorensis, Diana Opifeia and Diana Lucina. Her sanctuary at Nemi was famed for the healing waters and was regularly visited by pilgrims that left behind numerous votives, including anatomical models. Another famous shrine of Diana at Capua, where she was known as Diana Tifatina, has yielded a vast number of votives, particularly significant are the large female statues or "mothers" holding in their arms groups of infants.

Another instance of the identification in ancient Italy between natural phenomenon and places of worship and their relationship with the healing cults is offered by the Italic Mephitis. Personifying stench, she was reputed to cure from the malaria¹ fevers contracted through exposure to vapours and poisonous fumes from marshes, springs and earth. Her most famous sanctuary

was in the Valley of Ansanto, at a site where sulphuric and carbonic acid gasses surface from the depth of the earth in a bubbling pool.

Even the cult of the Greek healing god Asklepios, when adopted as Aesculapios on Italic soil, had to conform to the same requisites of the other Italic healing deities. Characteristically the sites chosen for his sanctuaries, like the most famous on the Isola Tiberina in Rome, were rigorously subordinate to the presence of water or springs.

The sanctuaries that received most votive offerings in terracottas, anatomical models and heads, were in southern Etruria, Latium, Campania and, partly Apulia; they were largely concerned with *sanatio* and with fertility. The anatomical votive terracottas, models of limbs, organs and the heads, have survived in such numbers because, unlike precious metal offerings, they could not be re-used, and because they were favoured by the middle and lower social classes, which made them the most popular ex-votos from the early 4th century B.C. In Italy the majority of the population that practised religious healing at temples and rural sanctuaries, where amongst these social groups. The sanctuaries fulfilled the role of medical centres for those who could not afford a physician. The practice of dedicating anatomical ex-votos declined towards the end of the 2nd century B.C., possibly, in some measure, due to improved medical standards.

II The votive offering

The concept of votive offer is as ancient as the perception of the divine and is the first, most immediate means of creating a contact with the god. It is a natural reaction, now as then, for man to appeal to the divinity in the moment of need offering something in return: "Please God, if you help me now I promise...". Most of us have, at some point or another in our lives, felt the need for this kind of exchange, and many have demonstrated their gratitude by way of material "gifts", money to the Church or to charities, but also objects to adorn the church, for example chalices, plaques, silver hearts etc. This kind of ex-voto can be seen in many churches, particularly Roman Catholic and Greek Orthodox, and are the direct descendants of the votive donaria of the ancients:

a practice so strongly felt that was never relinquished after the introduction of the Christian religion¹.

The offerings brought to the shrines of the Saints from the early Medieval period are, in essence, very similar to the votive offerings brought to the shrines of the numerous gods and goddesses (Fig.15). In particular the anatomical models find counterparts in Medieval examples² and contemporary examples can still be seen in some Greek and south Italian Churches. It is not surprising also that so many early Christian churches, often still places of worship today, were erected on the site of former pagan shrines.

The reason for presenting a votive offering to the gods could have been an exchange, a kind of payment for a favour granted, in expiation for wrongs done, a gift to make the divine power aware of the needs of the offerer or simply a mark of gratitude. Certainly the practice of offering votives was very common in the ancient religions and most temples and sanctuaries were crowded with all kinds of objects, precious and modest gifts.

The anatomical donaria, including the heads, have been interpreted as a substitution of the diseased part of the body, offered to the god in exchange for a cure. Most of the existing anatomical models represent healthy organs, a few show pathological deformities. It is possible that, in some cases, the elements indicating the ailment may have been painted on the objects. The limbs and external genital organs are quite accurately reproduced, but internal organs, due to the lack of anatomical knowledge of the makers of the objects, often show a certain inventiveness.

For the limbs and organs it is indubitable that their presence in the sanctuary was due to a health-related request to the divinity. For the heads it is less certain. They may be an indication that the donor was afflicted by a condition, such as migraine or malaria, causing fever and headache, but they may be simply a generic representation of the person. In this case the offer of an image

¹ Merrifield 1987, pp.83-96.

² Radford U. 'The wax images found in Exeter Cathedral.' *AntJourn* XXIX, 1949, pp.164-68.

of oneself could be made for a variety of reasons, not necessarily related to physical well-being.

The quality of some of the heads, the care lavished on the details, including jewellery and hairstyle, and the dependence of many of the prototypes from specific Greek models, speak against the healing hypothesis. It seems more likely that they were intended as a means of acquainting oneself with the divinity, a way of getting in touch with the god.

III The sanctuary and the worshippers

The types of sanctuaries in which these votives were dedicated could be sacred places in nature (springs, groves, caves, mountain tops) and rural sanctuaries, or sacred places associated with a settlement. Within these different forms of sanctuaries the evidence for healing cults is generally identified with certain natural features, particularly water. The evidence for the healing cults in Italy suggests a tradition in which the place of cult was directly tied to the form of worship practised. However, in most cases it is likely that healing was just one of the aspects of the cult. Anatomical votives and terracotta heads are, by far, the most numerous type of *donaria* at most sanctuaries, indicating that the physical welfare was the main concern for the people that frequented them, mainly the middle and lower classes of society. Rome indirectly played a major role in the propagation of this practice, as, in the 4th and early 3rd centuries B.C., the votive deposits of this kind grow more numerous within the territories under Roman jurisdiction. This situation was due to the economic prosperity that the middle classes acquired with the new political circumstances.

The fading presence of this type of votive, from the second half of the 2nd century B.C., in the deposits, is indicative, again, of a change in the political and economic setting. The suppliers of the votive terracottas were essentially the small farmers that had prospered from the expansion and intensification of the rural settlements promoted by the Roman State during the Republican period. The establishment of the *Ager Publicus* and of the large landed properties run with the slave system, ruined these small property farmers and their workers. The fall in number of terracotta heads and anatomical votives

coincide with the social change in the rural population, followed by the desertion of the countryside and the creation of a very poor substratum of population, dependent for survival from state help and clientship.

IV The stylistic influences

The terracotta votive heads represent an expression of popular Italic art, restricted to the Etrusco-Latium-Campanian area.

From the 5th century B.C., distinctive local trends are developed on figurative art of central Italy, influenced by works of mainland Greece and Magna Graecia.

The cosmopolitan and cultured centres of southern Italy contributed considerably to the transmission of the themes of the early Classical style, which became so deeply rooted to outlive the style itself in the Greek world, conferring to some local productions a deceptive appearance of antiquity. This is the case of the anthropomorphic art of Chiusi, from which some of the best production of votive terracotta heads is dependent.

Tarentum served as the main point of transmission for Greek artistic trends, a kind of bridge between the Greek and the Italic worlds, in major figurative art as well as minor art forms, like jewellery production. However, the exchange between Apulia and central Italy seems to be reciprocal, and styles were going from north to south, not only from south to north. This can be seen, for example, on the votive heads, where types of originally Apulian form, after having been assimilated in central Italy, travel back to Apulia, modified, with the addition of purely Etruscan-Italic elements, notably the distinctive hairstyle.

Amongst the Italic populations Greek motives are often adopted superficially for their decorative aspect. On terracottas the outcome, quite different from the original model, shows, at times, the purely local peasant culture, conferring to the figures a genuinely authentic and unique form of creativity.

In the Hellenistic period, the production of votive terracotta heads, busts and statues shows components of 3rd century B.C. Italic Hellenism, distinguished on one hand by the consolidation of Hellenistic forms, on the other hand by the

strong local attributes which tends to popularise figurative art in a way that recalls archaic schemes: the frontality of the subject, the heavy, linear features, the decorative quality of the hair rendering. Even when Greek models are imitated, the faces and expressions are often altered and deformed. It is not infrequent to find, within the same votive deposit, heads of varying quality and derivation.

The votive heads show several stylistic influences:

- From the Italic tradition, which is hard to eradicate even when the hellenic influence is at play. The local roots often emerge with the Greek component used in a decorative manner.
- From models originating directly in Greece or Magna Graecia.
- From Hellenistic models
- From Classicistic revival.

Amongst these trends, specific sources of inspiration can be identified:

- Some of the male and female heads can be compared with middle Italic votive bronzes; they share the same cubic structure typical of Italic "portraits", the hairstyle is accurately, almost fastidiously treated, always re-touched with the *stecca*, the eye-lids are generally well modelled and prominent, the line of the lips pleasing.
- Some female heads can be compared with Tarentine sculpture inspired by 4th century Greek models.
- The Hellenistic model is found on male and female heads, often combined with an hairstyle displaying flowing, wavy locks. When this style is associated with forelocks like pincers it can be dated to the 2nd century B.C. and represents the later group of votive heads.

- The same style is found on sarcophagi lids echoing Pergamene portraiture³. For the style of these heads the mediator must be Rome where, in this period, eastern art and artists played a considerable role⁴.
- The Classicistic trend is also a reflection of the neo-Attic classicism popular in Rome around the middle of the 2nd century B.C. It can be attributed to the Praxitelean feel perceived on some heads⁵.
- Often several models of inspiration are found blended together on one head: for example, a female head with Praxitelean features can display an elaborate hairstyle of local taste, or on a male head with Praxitelean features is placed an Alexander-type hairstyle.

It must be stressed, however, that the imitation is always rather generic.

The Italic artisans that created the terracottas using prototypes inspired by famous Greek sculptural works must have had copies of them to imitate. Possibly, the circulation of miniature copies, easy to transport and inexpensive, may have helped the propagation of Hellenistic culture and artistic styles.

V Jewellery and Hairstyles

Jewellery and hairstyles are significant on the votive heads, for dating purposes. Not all the heads display jewellery, but some show accurate reproductions of contemporary pieces. However, unlike the hairstyles, the fashions in jewellery style show a certain longevity. Then, as now, particularly in the case of elaborate, precious pieces, jewellery items are considered heirlooms. The most carefully and lavishly duplicated types of jewellery are the typically Etruscan ones, the *bullae* necklaces and the horseshoe, *grappolo*, earrings, which may represent just such family heirlooms. This kind of jewels is applied separately to

³ Herbig 1952, p.38, no.67, pl.79a, 102; Türr 1963, p.69, pl.28:I.

⁴ Coarelli A. 'Arte Ellenistica ed arte Romana. La cultura figurativa in Roma tra il II e il I secolo a.C.' *Caratteri dell'Ellenismo nelle urne Etrusche*. Siena aprile 1976 in *Prospettiva* suppl.I Firenze 1977, p.37.

⁵ Coarelli 1970, p.77ff.

the heads by means of specifically prepared matrices, as in the case of head F2a.

The hairstyle on the female heads seems to reflect, for the most part, actual styles of local taste and, as such, varies quite rapidly. However, direct influences from Classical and Hellenistic figurative types can also be identified. Male hairstyles, both local and Greek styles, are more conservative, survive over a longer period of time and are often based on idealised models: the young athlete, the youthful Alexander, the Hellenistic ruler etc.

VI The catalogue

Many of the female and male heads in the British Museum collection manifest strong affinity with the large Caeretan group in the Museo Gregoriano Etrusco. The types of Group 2, the major group in the catalogue, also disclose a direct relationship with an assemblage from Caere "Vignaccia" in the Lowie Museum. These connections indicate, for a number of examples in the British Museum, a likely Caeretan origin.

The heads dependent stylistically from the art of Chiusi, like heads F2a and F2h, display an attachment to archaic-Severe trends that makes them, at first sight, appear older than they really are. The correct dating is often suggested by external elements such as jewellery.

A number of the heads, full size and small, disclose evident dependence from bronze-working techniques and from local bronze-work types (F2a; F2bI; F2jI; M8a; M11a; M12a; M12aII; MM6; MM7).

Particularly significant is the link between some local head types and Greek Classical and Hellenistic representations of Tarentine origin (F2h; F2l; F4a; F4c; F6bI; M14a; M15a).

The hairstyle with *Schläfenlocke* is, in its many variations, the most commonly represented style on the female votive heads. It is also the most distinctive local Etrusco-Italic style; however it is often reproduced also on heads of Greek quality. The popularity of the *Schläfenlocke* hairstyle is such that votive heads displaying it are found as far as Magna Graecia, in Apulia.

The prototypes for numerous head types, both female and male, are directly derived from specific, well known, Greek sculptural compositions (F5a; F5B; M10a; M13aI; M13b; M14a; M14b; M15a; M16a; M16b; M16c; M16d; M17aI).

Some of the female head types are derived from male types and retain a certain masculine character, underlined by the hairstyles, often variations of the "lion's mane" of Alexander (F6aI; F6aII; F6bI; F6bII; F6c).

The complexity of the questions raised by this assemblage of Italic terracotta heads, the variety of the groups and the quality of the individual pieces, certainly establishes the collection in the British Museum as one of the major votive collections in the world. Regardless of its dispersive origin, this collection can be firmly pinpointed to one geographical area, southern Etruria and Campania with strong ties to Apulia. Some major sites can be identified as the locality of origin for the prototypes of a number of the head types. For most of the examples stylistic affinities and parallels can be drawn.

One of the most interesting aspects of this collection is its diversity. The examples included in the catalogue cover almost the whole spectrum of the existing head types, from the beginning of this votive practice, in the late 5th, early 4th centuries B.C., to its disappearance in the late Republican period.

INDEX

F1a:1847.8-12.3

F1b:1974.8-12.1

F2a:1814.7-4.856

F2bI:1839.2-14.49

F2bII:1843.5-7.330

F2bIII:1843.5-7.339

F2bIV:1939.2-14.43

F2bV:1839.2-14.47

F2bVI:1839.2-14.44

F2cI:1839.2-14.46

F2cII:1839.2-14.48

F2d:1772.3-16.35

F2e:1843.5-7.328

F2f:1843.5-7.329

F2g:1974.11-7.2

F2h:1928.1-17.9

F2i:1839.2-14.29

F2jI:1843.5-7.331

F2jII:1843.5-7.333

F2kI:1839.2-14.41

F2kII:1843.5-7.332

F2II:1974.8-12.24

F2III:1974.8-12.25

F2m:1814.7-4.858

F2nI:1839.2-14.45

F2nII:1839.2-14.42

F3aI:1974.8-12.20

F3aII:1958.8-22.22

F3b:1756.1-1.972

F3c:1982.9-29.5

F4a:1982.9-29.4

F4b:1982.9-29.6

F4c:1974.8-12.9

F4dI:1839.2-14.31

F4dII:1954.9-14.1

F4e:1814.7-4.862

F4fI:1982.9-29.3

F4fII:1843.5-7.327

F4g:1859.2-16.10

F4h:1950.1-4.7

F4i:1859.2-16.9

F4j:1839.2-14.34

F4k:1839.2-14.27

F4l:1839.2-14.33

F4m:1839.2-14.30

F5a:1885.1-17.2

F5b:1756.1-1.927

F5c:1772.3-16.1

F6aI:1839.2-14.28

F6aII:1839.2-14.37

F6bI:1839.2-14.32

F6bII:1974.8-12.12

F6c:1839.2-14.36

F7a:1959.6-12.1

F7b:1839.2-14.38

FMt:1974.8-12.3

FMa:1839.2-14.35

FMbI:1982.9-29.7

FMbII:1867.5-8.698

FMbIII:1867.5-7.699

FMc:1756.1-1.933

FMd:1974.8-12.27

FMe:1772.3-16.3

FMf:1974.8-12.21

FMg:1982.9-29.8

M8a:1974.8-12.22

M8b:1974.11-7.1

M8c:1856.12.26.449

M8d:1843.5-7.319

M9a:1956.6-28.1

M10a:1839.2-14.17

M10bI:1839.2-14.7

M10bII:1839.2-14.6

M10bIII:1839.2-14.10

M11a:1839.2-14.23

M11bI:1974.8-12.23

M11bII:1974.8-12.14

M11c:1974.8-12.5

M12aI:1814.7-4.898

M12aII:1974.8-12.7

M12b:1982.9-29.1

M13aI:1839.2-14.11

M13aII:1839.2-14.16

M13b:1839.2-14.8

M13c:1839.2-14.14

M14a:1974.8-12.6

M14b:1950.1-4.6
M14c:1843.5-7.318
M15a:1859.2-16.8
M15bI:1859.2-16.6
M15bII:1982.9-29.2
M15c:1859.2-16.7
M15d:1859.2-16.11
M16a:1839.2-14.13
M16b:1956.1-6.7
M16c:1926.3-24.102
M16d:1974.8-12.11
M17a:1839.2-14.12
M17aII:1839.2-14.15
M17aIII:1839.2-14.3
M17aIV:1839.2-14.4
M17aV:1839.2-14.5
M17bI:1839.2-14.20
M17bII:1839.2-14.39
M17bIII:1839.2-14.24
M17bIV:1839.2-14.22
M17bV:1839.2-14.50
M18a:1839.2-14.25

M18b:1839.2-14.21

M19aI:1839.2-14.19

M19aII:1839.2-14.18

M19b:1974.8-12.13

M19c:1839.2-14.26

M19d:1839.2-14.40

MM1:1974.8-12.2

MM2:1772.3-16.4

MM3:1772.3-16.2

MM4:1974.8-12.19

MM5:1974.8-12.18

MM6:1843.5-7.334

MM7:1848.5-1.33

ABBREVIATIONS AND PERIODICALS

ABSA: Abstract of the British School at Athens

ActaInstRomRSueciae: Acta Istituti Romani Regni Sueciae.

ActaA: Acta Archaeologica.

Acta Hyperborea: Danish Studies in Classical Archaeology

AEA: Archivo Español de Arte

AJA: American Journal of Archaeology.

Antike Kunst

Antike Plastik

Antike Welt. Zeitschrift für Archäologie und Kulturgeschichte

ArchCl: Archeologia Classica.

ArchLaz: Archeologia Laziale.

Atti Taranto

BaBesch: Bulletin Antieke Beschaving

BdA: Bollettino d'Arte.

BSR: Papers of the British School at Rome.

BM CJ: Marshall F.H. 'Catalogue of the Jewellery, Greek, Etruscan and Roman in the Department of Antiquities. British Museum'. London 1911.

BM CT: Walters H.B. 'Catalogue of the Terracottas in the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities, British Museum.' London 1903

Boreas

BullCorrHell: Bulletin de Correspondance Hellenique

CVAC: Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum.

Daremberg-Saglio: Daremberg C. Saglio E. *Dictionnaire des antiquités grecques et romaines*. Paris 1873-1912.

ERE: Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics.

EUA: *Enciclopedia Universale dell'Arte*.

°
Gallia: Gallia. *Fuilles et monuments archéologiques en France métropolitaine*.

Hesperia: Hesperia. Journal of the American School of Classical studies at Athens.

Janus

Japigia: Japigia. Organo della R. Deputazione di Storia Patria per le Puglie.

JBAA: Journal of the British Archaeological Association.

JdI: Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts.

JHS: The Journal of Hellenic Studies.

JRS: The Journal of Roman Studies.

Kokalos

<
Latomus: Collection Latomus. Bruxelles.

SL
MAAR: Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome.

MGE: Museo Gregoriano Etrusco. Vatican Museums.

MdI: Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts.

MEFRA: Mélanges de l'École Française de Rome. Antiquité.

MemLinc: Atti della Accademia dei Lincei. Memorie.

MonAL: Monumenti Antichi pubblicati per cura della Accademia dei Lincei.

NCG: Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek

NS: Notizie degli Scavi di Antichità.

U *OpRom*: Opuscula Romana.

Ori di Taranto: Gli ori di Taranto in Età Ellenistica. ed. De Juliis E.M. Milano 1984.

ParPass: Parola del Passato

Prospettiva

✓ *RevArch*: Revue Archéologique

RevLouvre: Revue du Louvre

RevPh: Revue Philologique

RdLinc: Rendiconti dell'Accademia dei Lincei

RendPontAcc: Atti della Pontificia Accademia Romana di Archeologia. Rendiconti.

RIA: Rivista dell'Istituto Nazionale d'archeologia e Storia dell'Arte.

RivStorAnt: Rivista di Storia Antica

RM: Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts. Römische Abteilung.

StE: Studi Etruschi.

Studi Miscellanei

Zephyrus

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- ADAM A.M. *Bronzes Etrusques et Italiques*. Bibliothèque Nationale. Paris 1984.
- ADAMESTEANU D. *La Basilicata Antica*. Cava dei Tirreni 1974.
- ADAMS F. *The genuine works of Hippokrates*. New York 1886.
- ALEXANDER C. *Jewellery, the Art of the Goldsmith in Classical times*. Metropolitan Museum Publication. New York 1928.
- ALEXANDER G. *Zur Kenntnis der etruskischen Weihgeschenke* Bonnet-Markels Anatomische Hefte. Wiesbaden 1905.
- AMANDRY P. *Collection Hélène Stathatos. Les bijoux antiques*. Strasbourg 1953.
- AMANDRY P. *Review to Hoffman-Davidson 1965*, AJA LXXI, 1967, pp.202-205.
- ANDREN A. 'Una testa fittile Etrusca del V secolo.' *Dragma Martino P.Nilsson dedicatum. ActaInstRomRSueciae* I. Lund 1939, pp.1-19.
- ANDREN A. 'Una matrice fittile Etrusca.' *StE* XXIV, 1955-56, pp.207-219.
- ANDREN A. 'Il santuario della necropoli della Cannicella ad Orvieto.' *StE* XXXV, 1967, pp.41-85.
- ANDREN A. 'Osservazioni sulle terracotte architettoniche Etrusco-Italiche.' *OpRom* VIII, 1974, pp.1-16.
- ANTIKE KUNSTWERKE AUS DER SAMMLUNG LUDWIG, II. Terrakotten und Bronzen. Basel 1982.
- ANTIK KUNST I DANSK PRIVATEJE. Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek. Copenhagen 1974.
- ALINARI A. 'L'Acropoli di Montecassino.' *StE* XIV, 1940, pp.443-450.

ANDREN A. *Architectural terracottas from Etrusco-Italic Temples*. Lund-Leipzig 1940.

ANDREN A. 'Una matrice fittile Etrusca.' *StE* XXIV, 1955-6, pp.207-219.

ANDREN A. 'Il santuario della necropoli di Cannicella ad Orvieto.' *StE* XXXV, 1967, pp.41-85.

ANTICHITÀ DELL'UMBRIA A LENINGRADO. Gens antiquissima Italiae. Exhibition Catalogue, Hermitage Museum. Perugia 1990.

ARIAS P.E. *Mirone*. Firenze 1940.

ARTAAMANOV M.I. *Treasures from Scythian tombs in the Hermitage Museum, Leningrad*. London 1969.

ARTE E CIVILTÀ DEGLI ETRUSCHI. Exhibition Catalogue. Torino 1967.

ASHMOLE B. 'Menander: an inscribed bust.' *AJA* LXXVII, 1973, p.61.

BABELON E. BLANCHET J.A. *Catalogue des bronzes antiques de la Bibliothèque Nationale*. Paris 1895.

BAGLIONE M.P. *Ricognizioni archeologiche in Etruria. II. Il territorio di Bomarzo*. Roma 1976.

BANTI L. 'Il culto del cosiddetto "Tempio dell'Apollo" a Veii e il problema delle Triadi etrusco-italiche.' *StE* XVII, 1943, pp.187-224.

BANTI L. *Il mondo degli Etruschi*. Roma 1960

BARKER G. *Landscape and Society: Prehistoric Central Italy*. London-New York 1981.

BARNES H. 'On Roman medicine and Roman inscriptions found in Britain.' *Proceedings of the Royal Society of Medicine. Section of the History of Medicine* II, 1913-1914, pp.71-87.

BARRA BAGNASCO M. *Protomi in terracotta da Locri Epizefiri*. Torino 1986.

- BARTMAN E. *Ancient sculptural copies in miniature*. Columbia Studies in the Classical Tradition. XIX. ed. E.J.Brill. Leiden/New York/Köln 1992.
- BARTOCCINI R. 'Arte e Religione nella stipe votiva di Lucera.' *Japigia* XI, 1940, pp.185-213; 241-298.
- BARTOLONI G. 'Alcune terracotte votive delle collezioni Medicee ora al Museo Archeologico di Firenze.' *StE* XXXVIII, 1970(a), pp.257-270.
- BARTOLONI G. 'Pyrgi. Le terracotte votive.' *NS* suppl. 1970(b).2, pp.552-577.
- BESQUES S. *Catalogue raisonné des figurines et reliefs en terre-cuite Grecs, Étrusques et Romains. III. Époque Hellenistique et Romaine. Grece et Asia Mineure*. Musée du Louvre. Paris 1972.
- BESQUES S. *Catalogue raisonné des Figurines et reliefs en terre-cuite Grecs Étrusques et Romains. IV-I. Époque Hellénistique et Romaine. Italie Méridionale-Sicile- Sardaigne*. Musée du Louvre. Paris 1986.
- BECATTI G. *Oreficerie antiche dalle Minoiche alle Barbariche*. Roma 1955.
- BEAZLEY J.D. 'Attic vases in form of human heads.' *JHS* XLIX, 1929, pp.38-78.
- BEAZLEY J.D. *Etruscan vase-painting*. Oxford 1947.
- BEDELLO M. *Capua Preromana*. Terracotte votive. III. Testine e busti. Firenze 1975.
- BELL.M. 'Two terracotta busts from the Iudica Collection.' *ArchCl* XXIV, 1973, pp.1-12.
- BELL M. *Morgantina Studies. The terracottas. I*. Princeton University Press 1981.
- BELLI C. *Il Museo di Taras. Museo Nazionale di Taranto*. Milano/Roma 1970.

BERNARD R. 'Etude médicale des ex voto des Sources de la Seine.' *Revue Archéologique de l'Est et du Centre Est* IX, 1958, pp.328-358.

BERNOULLI J.J. *Griechische Ikonographie*. Munich 1901.

BESKOW C. 'Analisi metodica di statuine in terracotta provenienti da Veio Campetti.' *OpRom* XII, 1978, pp.37-43.

BESNIER M. *L'Ile Tibérine dans l'antiquité*. Paris 1871.

BIANCHI BANDINELLI R. 'Clusium.' *MonAL* XXX, 1925, pp.209-578.

BIANCHI BANDINELLI R. *Policeto*. Milano 1938.

BIANCHI BANDINELLI R. 'Situazione storica dell'arte ellenistica'. *Atti Taranto* IX, 1970.

BIANCHI BANDINELLI R. *Storicità dell'Arte Classica*. Bari 1973.

BIANCHI BANDINELLI R., GIULIANO A. *Etruschi e Italici prima del dominio di Roma*. IVth ed. Milano 1985.

BIANCHI V., VERMASEREN M.J. ed. *La soteriologia dei culti orientali nell'impero Romano*. Leiden/Brill 1982.

BIEBER M. *Antiken Skulpturen und Bronzen in Cassel*. Cassel 1915.

BIEBER M. *Sculpture of the Hellenistic Age*. New York 1961.

BIEBER M. *Alexander the Great in Greek and Roman Art*. Chicago 1964.

BLANK I. 'Griechische Goldschmuckimitationen des 4.Jarhunderts v.Chr.' *Antike Welt* VII, 1976, pp.19-27.

BLAZQUEZ J.M. 'Terracotas del Santuario de Calés (Calvi), Campania.' *Zephyrus* XII, 1961, pp.24-42.

BLAZQUEZ J.M. 'Terracotas del santuario de Calés (Campania).' *AEA* XXXVI, 1963, pp.20-39.

- BLAZQUEZ J.M. 'Terracotas de Calés en el Museo Arqueológico Nacional de Madrid.' *Zephirus* XIX-XX, 1968-69, pp.107-113.
- BOCCI PACINI P. 'La stipe della Fonte Veneziana ad Arezzo.' *StE* XLVIII, 1980, pp.73-91.
- BODEI GIGLIONI G. 'Pecunia fanatica. L'incidenza economica dei templi laziali.' *Riv.St.Ital.* LXXXIX, 1977, pp.33-76.
- BONACASA N. 'Frammenti inediti di Satricum.' *StE* XXVI, 1958, pp.37-45.
- BONFANTE L. *Etruscan Dress*. Baltimore/London 1975.
- BONGHI JOVINO M. *Capua pre-Romana. Terracotte votive. I. Teste isolate e mezze teste*. Firenze 1965.
- BONGHI JOVINO M. 'Una tabella capuana con ratto di Ganimede ed i suoi rapporti con l'arte tarantina.' *Hommages à M.Renard* III. Bruxelles 1968, pp.66-78.
- BONGHI JOVINO 'Apporti alla comprensione del linguaggio figurativo della Campania Sannitica. Osservazioni su un gruppo di teste fittili inedite.' *ArchCl* XXI, 1969, pp.66-71.
- BONGHI JOVINO M. *Capua pre-Romana. Terracotte votive. II. Le statue*. Firenze 1971.
- BONGHI JOVINO M. 'Problemi di artigianato dell'Italia pre-romana.' *Archeologica. Studi in onore di A. Neppi Modona*. Firenze 1975, pp.29-35.
- BONGHI JOVINO M. 'La produzione fittile in Etruria ed i suoi riflessi nell'Italia antica. Questioni cronologiche e correlazioni artistiche.' *Atti del II Congresso Internazionale Etrusco*. Firenze 1985. Roma 1989.
- BONGHI JOVINO M. *Artigiani e Botteghe nell'Italia Preromana. Studi sulla coroplastica di area etrusco-laziale-campana*. Roma 1990.
- BONGHI JOVINO M., CHIARAMONTE TRERÉ C. ed. *Tarquini: ricerche, scavi e prospettive*. Milano 1987.

BORDA M. *Collezioni e Musei Archeologici del Veneto. Ceramiche e terracotte greche, magno-greche ed italiche del Museo Civico di Treviso*. Treviso 1976.

BOTTINI A., ISNENGHI COLAZZO S., RAININI I. 'Valle d'Ansanto. Rocca San Felice. Il deposito votivo del Santuario di Mefite.' *NS XXX*, 1976, pp.358-524.

BOURGUET E. *Les comptes du IV siècle*. Paris 1932.

BRANDIZZI VITUCCI P. *Forma Italiae. Cora*. Roma 1968.

BREGLIA L. *Catalogo delle oreficerie del Museo Nazionale di Napoli*. Roma 1941.

BREGLIA L. *Catalogo dell'oreficeria del Museo Nazionale di Napoli*. Firenze 1954.

BREITENSTAIN N. *Catalogue of terracottas, Cypriote, Greek, Etruscan and Roman in the Danish National Museum department of Oriental and Classical Antiquities*. Copenhagen 1941.

BRENDEL O. *Etruscan Art*. Harmondsworth, Middlesex 1978.

BRIQUET M.F. *Aspects de l'art des Etrusques dans les Collections du Louvre*. Paris 1976.

BRONEER O. 'Investigations at Corinth, 1946-47.' *Hesperia XVI*, 1947, pp.233-247.

BRUSCHETTI P., GORI SASSOLI M., GUIDOTTI M.C. *Il Museo dell'Accademia Etrusca di Cortona*. Cortona 1988.

BÜCHELER F. *Umbrica*. Bonn 1883.

BUTRON OLIVER D. *Antiquities from the collection of Christos G.Bastis*. New York 1987.

BUSCHOR E. *Das porträt, Bildniswege und Bildnisstufen in fünf Jahrtausenden*. Munchen 1960.

- BURKERT W. *Griechische Religion der archaischen und klassischen Epoche*. Mainz 1977.
- BURKERT W. *Greek religion*. Cambridge, Massachusetts 1985.
- BURR D. *Terracottas from Myrina in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston*. Vienna 1934.
- CANCELLIERI M. 'Le vie d'acqua dell' "Area Pontina". Il Tevere e le altre vie d'acqua del Lazio Antico.' *ArchLaz* VII, 2, 1986, pp.143-156.
- CALZA R., SQUARCIAPINO FLORIANI M. *Museo Ostiense*. Itinerari dei Musei, Gallerie e Monumenti d'Italia. LXXIX. Roma 1962.
- CAPDEVILLE G. 'Substitution de victimes dans les sacrifices d'animaux à Rome.' *MEFRA* LXXXIII, 1971, pp.283-323.
- CASSOLA F. *I gruppi politici Romani nel III secolo a.C.* Trieste 1962.
- CARUSO I. *Le oreficerie*. Museo Nazionale di Villa Giulia. Roma 1988.
- CAUBET A., HELLY B. 'Ex voto chypriotes au Musée du Louvre.' *RevLouvre* XXI, VI, 1971, pp.331-334.
- CAYLUS A.M. *Recueil d'Antiquités Egyptiennes, Grecques, Romaines et Gauloises*. VII vols. Paris 1752-1765.
- CEDERNA A. 'Teste votive di Carsoli.' *ArchCl* V, 1953, pp.187-209.
- CHIARAMONTI TRERÉ C. 'I depositi all'ingresso dell'edificio tarquiniese: nuovi dati sui costumi rituali etruschi.' *MEFRA* C, 1988, pp.1-25.
- CHIARUCCI P. 'Una stipe votiva di età Repubblicana in Albano.' *ArchLaz* XI, 1993, pp.271-276.
- CIANFARANI V. *Santuari nel Sannio*. Pescara 1960.
- CIVILTA DEL LAZIO PRIMITIVO. Exhibition Catalogue. Roma 1976.

COARELLI A. 'Arte Ellenistica ed arte Romana. La cultura figurativa in Roma tra il II e il I secolo a.C.' *Caratteri dell'Ellenismo nelle urne Etrusche*. Siena, Aprile 1976, in *Prospettiva*, suppl.I, Firenze 1977.

COARELLI F. 'Polycles.' *Studi Miscellanei XV*, 1970, pp.77-89.

COARELLI F. *Fregellae II. Il Santuario di Esculapio*. Perugia. Università degli Studi. Roma 1986.

COLONNA G. 'Nuovi elementi per la storia del santuario di Pyrgi.' *ArchCl* XVIII, 1966, pp.269-278.

COLONNA G. *Bronzi votivi Umbro-Sabellici a figura umana, I: periodo arcaico*. Firenze 1970.

COLONNA G. 'La dea Etrusca Cel e i santuari del Trasimeno.' *RivStorAnt* VI-VII, 1976-77.

COLONNA G. 'La Sicilia e il Tirreno nel V e IV secolo.' *Kokalos* XXVI-XXVII, 1980-81, p.157ff.

COLONNA G. 'Il posto dell'Arringatore nell'arte Etrusca di età Ellenistica.' *StE* LVI, 1991, pp.99-122.

COMELLA A. 'Tipologia e diffusione dei complessi votivi in Italia in epoca medio e tardo Repubblicana.' *MEFRA* XCII, 1981, pp.717-798.

COMELLA A. *Il deposito votivo presso l'Ara della Regina*. Materiali del Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Tarquinia. Roma 1982.

COMELLA A. *I materiali votivi di Falerii*. Corpus delle stipi votive in Italia. I. Roma 1986.

CONWAY R.S. *The Italic dialects*. II vols. Cambridge 1897.

CRISTOFANI M. *Le statue cinerarie Chiusine di età Classica*. Roma 1975.

CRISTOFANI M. *Urne Volterane. Il Museo Guarnacci. Corpus delle urne Etrusche di età Ellenistica*. Firenze 1977.

CRISTOFANI M. *Gli Etruschi. Una nuova immagine*. Firenze 1984.

- CRISTOFANI M. *Bronzi Etruschi, I. La plastica votiva*. Novara 1985.
- CRISTOFANI M., MARTELLI M. 'Testa fittile femminile di provenienza templare nel Museo di Volterra.' *ArchCl* XXIII, 1971, pp.268-272.
- CRISTOFANI M., MARTELLI M. *L'oro degli Etruschi*. Novara 1983.
- CROISSANT F. *Les protomés féminines archaïques*. Paris 1983.
- CUMONT F. *The Oriental Religions in Roman Paganism*. Chicago 1911.
- CURATOLO G.E. *L'Arte di Juno Lucina in Roma*. 1901.
- DAREMBERG C. *La Médecine, Histoire et doctrines*. II vols. Paris 1865.
- DAREMBERG C., SAGLIO E. *Dictionnaire des antiquités Grecques et Romaines*. Paris 1873-1911.
- DECOUFLÉ P. 'La Notion d'ex voto anatomique chez les Etrusco-Romains.' *Collection Latomus* LXXII, Bruxelles 1964.
- DE FRANCISCIS A. 'Note sull'acrolito di Cirò.' *RM* LXIII, 1965, pp.45-48.
- DE JULIIS E., LOIACONO D. *Taranto. Il Museo Archeologico*. Taranto 1985.
- DE LAET J.S., DESITTERE M. 'Ex voto anatomici di Palestrina del Museo archeologico dell'Università di Gand.' *AntCl* XXXVIII, 1969, pp.16-27.
- DE MARCHI A. *Il culto privato a Roma antica. Iscrizioni e offerte votive*. Milano 1896.
- DE LUCA G. *Altertümer von Pergamon XI. Das Asklepieion*. Berlin 1968.
- DE RIDDER A. *Catalogue sommaire des bijoux antiques*. Musée National du Louvre. Paris 1924.
- DE SANCTIS G. *Storia dei Romani*. Firenze 1953.
- DE WEALE F.G. 'The sanctuary of Asklepios and Hygieia at Corinth.' *AJA* XXXVII, 1933, pp.417-451.

DEONNA I.W. *Les statues de terre cuite dans l'antiquité*. Paris 1908.

DEONNA I.W. *Le Mobilier Délien. Délos XVIII*. École Française d'Athènes. Paris 1938.

DEL CHIARO M.A. 'University of California, Santa Barbara Excavations at Ghiaccio Forte, Tuscany (first Campaign, Summer 1973).' *AJA* LXXVIII, 1974, pp.385-390.

DELLA TORRE O., CIAGHI S. *Terracotte figurate ed architettoniche del Museo Nazionale di Napoli, I. Terracotte figurate da Capua*. Napoli 1980.

DEPPERT-LIPPITZ B. *Griechischer Goldschmuck*. Mainz 1985.

DOHRN T.R.M. 'Zur Geschichte italisch-etruskischen Porträts.' *RM* LII, 1937, pp.119-139.

DOHRN T.R.M. *Der Arringatore*. Berlin 1968.

DOHRN T. 'Die Ficoronische Ciste in der Villa Giulia in Rom.' *Monumenta Artis Romanae* XI, 1972.

DOHRN T. *Die etruskische Kunst im Zeitalter der griechischen Klassik*. Mainz 1982.

DÖRIG P.G. *Art Antique Collections privées de la Suisse Romande* Éditions Archéologique de l'Université de Genève. Genève 1975.

DÖRIG J. 'The Olympia Master and his collaborators.' *Monumenta Graeca et Romana* VI. ed.E.J.Brill. Leiden 1987.

DUCATI P. *Storia dell'arte etrusca*. Firenze 1927.

DULIÈRE C. *Lupa Romana*. Bruxelles 1979.

EDELSTEIN E.J.L. *Asclepius. A collection and interpretation of the Testimonies*. II vols. Baltimore 1945.

EDLUND I.E.M. 'The Gods and the Place'. The location and function of Sanctuaries in the countryside of Etruria and Magna Graecia (700-400 B.C.).' *ActaInstRomRSueciae*. 4, XLIII. Stockholm 1987.

- EMILIOZZI A. *La collezione Rossi Danielli nel Museo Civico di Viterbo*. Roma 1974.
- ENEAS NEL LAZIO. *Archeologia e mito. Exhibition Catalogue*. Roma 1981.
- ESDAILE K.A. 'The apex or tutulus in Roman Art.' *JRS* I, 1911, pp.212-226.
- ESPÉRANDIEU E. *Recueil général des bas-reliefs, statues et bustes de la Gaule romaine*. Paris 1913.
- FALLETTI MAJ B.M. *La Tradizione Italica nell'arte romana*. Roma 1977.
- FARNELL L.R. *The cults of the Greek State*. London 1896-1909.
- FENELLI M. 'Contributo per lo studio dei votivi anatomici di Lavinio.' *ArchCl* XXVII, 1975, pp.206-252.
- FOWLER W.W. *Roman Festivals of the period of the Republic*. London 1899.
- FISCHER-HANSEN T. *Catalogue. Campania, S.Italy and Sicily*. Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek. Copenhagen 1992.
- FITTSCHEN K. 'Der "Arringatore", ein römischer Bürger?' *RM* LXXVII, 1970, pp.177-184.
- FORTUNATI F.R. *Il materiale votivo. Museo Civico di Velletri*. Cataloghi dei Musei Locali e delle Collezioni del Lazio. VI. Roma 1986.
- FRAZER J. *The golden bough, a study in magic and religion. Abridged edition*. Macmillan London 1922.
- FREDERICKSEN B.B. *The J.Paul Getty Museum*. Malibu 1975.
- FREL J. *Greek Portraits in the J.Paul Getty Museum*. Malibu 1981.
- FRIDH HANESON B.M. 'Le manteau symbolique. Étude sur les couples votifs en terre cuite assis sous un même manteau.' *ActaInstRomRSueciae* XL. Stockholm 1983.
- FROST K.T. 'The statue from Cerigotto.' *JHS* XXIII, 1903, pp.217-236.

FUCHS W. 'Zu den metopen des Heraion von Selinus.' *RM* LXIII, 1956, pp.102-121.

FURFARO D. 'Materiale votivo classico del Museo Civico di Bologna.' *Rivista di Storia Medievale* VII, II, 1963, pp.194-199.

FURTWÄNGLER A. 'Ancient Sculptures at Chatsworth House.' *JHS* XXI, 1901, pp.209-228.

GAMBETTI C. *I coperchi di urne con figurazioni femminili nel Museo Archeologico di Volterra*. Milano 1974

GAROFANO VENOSTA T. *Ex voto anatomici nella Capua pre-Romana*. Caserta 1966.

GATTI LO GUZZO L. *Il deposito votivo dell'Esquilino detto di Minerva Medica*. Firenze 1978.

GERHARD E. *Etruskische Spiegel*. Berlin 1843-1897.

GLI ORI DI TARANTO in età Ellenistica. ed. De Juliis E.M. Exhibition Catalogue. Milano 1984.

GIACOSA P. *Notizie degli oggetti esposti alla mostra di Storia della medicina di Torino*. Torino 1898.

GIGLIOLI G.Q. *Arte Etrusca*. Milano 1935.

GIRARDON S.P. 'Una testa fittile da altorilievo nel British Museum.' *Atti del XVI Convegno di Studi Etruschi e Italici*. Firenze 1992, pp.225-229.

GIULIANO A. 'Busti femminili da Palestrina.' *RM* LX-LXI, 1953-54 pp.172-183.

GOLDSCHIEDER L. *Etruscan sculpture*. London 1941.

GRECO A. Terracotte di donazione Borbonica nel Museo Nazionale di Palermo. *Napoli Nobilissima* V. Napoli 1966.

GRENIER A. *Manuel d'Archéologie Gallo-Romaine*. Paris 1960.

GREIFENHAGEN A. *Schmuck der Alten Welt*. Berlin 1974.

GRIFFO P. *Il Museo Archeologico Regionale di Agrigento*. Roma 1987.

GRIFFO P., ZIRRETTA G. *Il nuovo Museo Civico di Agrigento*. Palermo 1964.

GRUPPE O. *Griechische Mythologie und Relionsgeschichte*. Munich 1906.

GUAITOLI M. *Quaderni dell'Istituto di topografia antica dell'Università di Roma* VI, 1974, pp.44-69.

GUALANDI G. 'Santuari e stipi votive dell'Etruria Padana.' *StE* XLII, 1974, pp.37-68.

GUARDUCCI M. 'L'isola Tiberina e la sua tradizione ospitaliera.' *RdLinc* XXVI, 1971, pp.267-281.

GUZZO P.G. 'Oreficerie arcaiche da Metaponto.' *ArchCl* XXIV, 1971, pp.248-255.

GUZZO P.G. 'Taranto a Vulci?'. *Taras* VII, 1987, pp.35-40.

HACKENS T. *Catalogue of the Classical Collection. Classical Jewellery. Museum of Art, Rhode Island School of Design*. Providence 1961.

HADACZEK K. *Der Ohrschmuck der Griechen und Etrusker*. Wien 1903.

HAFNER G. 'Frauen-und Mädchenbilder aus terracotta im Museo Gregoriano Etrusco.' *RM* LXXII, 1965, pp.41-61.

HAFNER G. 'Männer und Jünglingsbilder aus Terrakotta im Museo Gregoriano Etrusco.' *RM* LXIII-LXIV, 1966-67, pp.29-56.

HAFNER G. 'Etruskische Togati.' *Antike Plastik* IX, 1969, pp.23-46.

HAFNER G. *Athen und Rom*. Baden-Baden 1969.

HAFNER G. 'Römische und italische Porträts des 4 Jahrhnerts v.Chr.' *RM* LXXVII, 1970, pp.46-71.

HAFNER G. 'Zwei Etruskische Bildnis-statuen.' *Antike Kunstwerke aus der Sammlung Ludwig*. Basel 1982, pp.204-228.

HANFMAN G.M.A., PEDLEY J.G. 'The statue of Meleager.' *Antike Plastik* III, 1964, pp.61-65.

HARARI M. *Il Gruppo Clusium nella ceramografia Etrusca*. Roma 1980.

HARRIS W.V. *Rome in Etruria and Umbria*. Oxford 1971.

HAYNES S. 'Ein etruskischer Bronzekopf von Bolsenasee.' *StE* XXXIII, 1965, pp.523-525.

HAYNES S. *Etruscan Bronzes*. London 1985.

HENIG M. *Religion in Roman Britain*. London 1985.

HERBIG R. 'Die Italienische Wurzel der Römischen Bildmiskunst.' *Das neue Bild der Antike* II, Leipzig 1942.

HERBIG R. *Die Jüngeretruskischen Steinsarkophage*. Berlin 1952.

HERBIG R., SIMON E. *Götter und Dämonen der Etrusker*. Mainz 1965.

HERDEJÜRGEN H. *Die tarantinischen Terrakotten* des 6. bis 4. Jahrhunderts v.Chr. im Antikenmuseum Basel. Basel 1971.

HERDEJÜRGEN H. *Götter, Menschen und Dämonen. Terrakotten aus Unteritalien*. Basel 1978.

HERDEJÜRGEN H. 'Tarantinische Terrakotten.' *Antike Kunstwerke aus der Sammlung Ludwig II. Terrakotten und Bronzen*. Basel 1982, pp.19-111.

HERMITAGE MUSEUM CATALOGUE. *Etruscan Culture and Art of Etruria*. Leningrad 1972.

HIGGINS R.A. *Catalogue of the Terracottas in the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities. British Museum*. London 1954.

HIGGINS R.A. *Greek and Roman Jewellery*. London 1964.

- HIGGINS R.A. *Greek and Roman Jewellery*. London 1980.
- HIGGINS R.A. *Tanagra and the figurines*. London 1986
- HINKS R.P. *Greek and Roman Portrait sculpture*. British Museum 1935.
- HOFFMAN H., DAVIDSON P.F. *Greek Gold Jewelry from the Age of Alexander*. Brooklyn-Mainz 1965.
- HOFFMAN H., VON CLEAR V. *Antike Gold und Silberschmuck*. Mainz 1968.
- HOFFMANN H. *Tarentine Rhyta*. Mainz 1966.
- HOFMANN J.B. *Lateinisches etymologisches wörterbuch*. IIIrd ed. Heidelberg 1930-56.
- HOFFER M.R. *Untersuchungen zu Stil und Chronologie der Mittelitalischen Terrakotta-Votivköpfe*. Bonn 1985.
- HOGARTH D.G. *Excavations at Ephesus. The Archaic Artemision*. London 1908.
- HOLLÄNDER E. *Plastik und Medizin*. Stuttgart 1902
- HOMOLLE T. 'Comptes des hiéropes du temple d'Apollon Délien.' *Bull.Corr.Hell.* VI, 1882, pp.1-167.
- HOPF L. *Die Heilgötter und Heilstätten des Altertums*. Tübingen 1904.
- HORNBOSTEL W. *Aus Gräbern und Heiligtümern. Die Antikensammlung Walter Kropatscheck. Museum Für Kunst und Gewerbe Hamburg*. Mainz 1980.
- HUBERT H. *Les Celts*. Paris 1932.
- HUSSEY 'Greek sculptured crowns and crown inscriptions.' *AJA* VI, 1890, pp.69-88.
- INAN J. 'Three statues from Side.' *Antike Kunst* XIII, 1970, pp.17-33.

INVERNIZZI R., TOMASELLI C., ZEZZA M.G. *Museo d'Istituto di Archeologia Materiali, I. Terracotte figurate. Instrumentum metallico. Elementi architettonici. Fonti e studi per la storia dell'Università di Pavia.* Milano 1983.

JASHEMSKI W.F. *The gardens of Pompeii, Herculaneum and the Villas destroyed by Vesuvius.* New Rochelle/New York 1979.

JASTROW E. 'Abformung und Typenwandel in der antiken Tonplastik.' *OpArch* II, 1941, pp.1-28.

JAYNE W.D. *The healing gods of ancient civilizations.* Yale University Press 1925.

JENKINS G.K. *Ancient Greek coins.* New York 1972.

JERRY VON W. *Keltische Metallerbeiten.* Berlin 1955.

JOHANNOWSKY W. 'Relazione preliminare sugli scavi di Teano.' *BdA* XLVIII, 1963, pp.131-165.

JOHANNOWSKY W. 'Relazione preliminare sugli scavi di Cales.' *BdA* XLVIII, 1963, pp.258-268.

JOHANSEN F. *Greek portraits in the Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek.* Copenhagen 1992.

JUCKER I. *Altrömische Porträtplastik,* Kunsthaus. Zurich 1953.

JUCKER I. *Italy of the Etruscans.* Jerusalem 1991.

KARO G. *An Attic Cemetery.* Philadelphia 1943.

KASCHNITZ VON WEINBERG G. 'Ritratti fittili Etruschi e Romani dal secolo III al I a.C.' *RendPontAcc* III, 1925, pp.326-350.

KASCHNITZ VON WEINBERG G. 'Studien zur etruskischer und frühromischer Porträtkunst.' *RM* XLI, 1926, pp.133-211.

KASCHNITZ VON WEINBERG G. *Sculture del magazzino del Museo Vaticano.* Città del Vaticano 1937.

KASCHNITZ VON WEINBERG G. 'Ausgewählte Schriften, II, Römische Bildnisse.'. Berlin 1965.

KEKULE R. *Die Terrakotten von Sizilien*. Berlin 1884.

KERÉNYI C. *Le medicin divin. Promenades mythologiques aux sanctuaries d'Asclepios*. Basel 1947.

KILMER M.F. *The shoulder bust in Sicily and south Italy: a catalogue and material for dating*. Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology. Göteborg 1977.

KNOOP R.R. *Antefixa Satricana. Sixth-century Architectural terracottas from the Sanctuary of Mater Matuta at Satricum (Le Ferriere)*. Reports and Studies of the Satricum Project. I. Assen/Masstricht 1987.

KOCH H. *Dachterrakotten aus Campanien*. Berlin 1912.

KOZLOFF A.P. ed. *Animals in ancient Art*. From the Leo Mildenburg Collection. Cleveland 1981.

KRISELEIT I. 'Griechischer Schmuck aus vergoldetem Ton.' *Forschungen und Berichte-Staatliche Museen zu Berlin XVIII*, 1977, pp.13-20.

KUNST DER ETRUSKER in Zusammenarbeit mit dem Museum für kunst und Gewerbe. Exhibition catalogue. Hamburg 1981.

KUNST UND LEBEN DER ETRUSKER. Exhibition Catalogue. Zurich 1955.

LA CIVITA DI ARTENA. Scavi Belgi 1979-1989. Roma 1989.

LA REGINA A. *Sannio, Pentri e Frantani dal VI al I secolo*. Mostra Isernia. Roma 1980.

LA TORRE F. *L'utero attraverso i secoli*. Città di Castello 1917.

LANGLOTZ E. *Die Kunst der Westgriechen in Sizilien und Unteritalien*. Munich 1963.

LATTE K. *Römische Religionsgeschichte*. Munich 1960.

LAURENZI L. *Ritratti Greci*. Firenze 1941.

- LAVIOSA C. 'Le antefisse fittili di Taranto.' *ArchCl* VI, 1954, pp.217-250.
- LAZZARINI M.L. 'Le formule delle dediche votive nella Grecia arcaica.' *MAL* Ser. VIII, XIX, 2, 1976.
- LEBEL P. 'Complément à l'étude médicale des ex voto des Sources de la Seine.' *Revue Archéologique de l'est et du Centre Est* XVI, 1965, pp.245-258.
- LE CLERC D. *Histoire de la Médecine*. II ed. Amsterdam 1702.
- LE GALL J. *Recherches sur le cult du Tibre*. Paris 1953.
- LES[\]. *ETRUSQUES ET L'EUROPE*. Exhibition catalogue. Venice-Paris-Berlin 1992.
- LETTA C. *Piccola coroplastica metapontina del Museo Archeologico di Potenza*. Napoli 1971.
- LEVI A. *Le terracotte figurate del Museo Nazionale di Napoli*. Firenze 1926.
- LIBERTINI G. *Il Museo Biscari di Catania*. Milano 1930.
- LINDERS T., NORDQUIST G. ed. *Gifts to the Gods*. Proceedings of the Uppsala Symposium 1985. *Boreas* XV. Uppsala 1987.
- LLOYD-MORGAN G., GIRARDON S.P. 'The Etruscan Collection.' Joseph Mayer of Liverpool 1803-1886. *Society of Antiquaries and National Museums and Galleries on Merseyside Publication*. London 1988.
- L'ORANGE H.P. *Apotheosis in Ancient Portraiture*. Oslo 1947.
- LUGLI G. *Fontes ad topographiam veteris Urbis Romae pertinente*. Roma 1956.
- LULLIES R. 'Vergoldete terrakotta-Appliken aus Tarent.' *RM* VII, supplement 1962.
- LUNSINGH-SCHEURLEER R.A. 'Terracotta imitation jewellery.' *BABesch* LVII, 1982, pp.192-199.

LÜTZENKIRCHEN G. 'La medicina nella civiltà dell'antica Etruria.' *Medicina nei Secoli XI*, 1974, pp.37-61.

MAGGIANI A. 'Contributo alla cronologia delle urne Volterrane. I coperchi.' *MemAL XIX*, 1976, pp.3-44.

MAJOR B.H. *A History of Medicine*. Springfield Illinois 1954, 1st edition; *Storia della Medicina*. Firenze 1959, II ed.

MANSUELLI G.A. *Etruria and early Rome*. London 1966.

MANSUELLI G.A. 'La recezione dello stile Severo e del Classicismo nelle sculture Etrusche.' *RevArch* 1968, pp.73-84.

MARCONI P. 'Girgenti. Ricerche ed esplorazioni.' *NS* 1926, pp.93-148.

MARCONI P. *Agrigento Arcaica. Il Santuario delle divinità Ctoniche e il tempio detto di Vulcano*. Roma 1933.

MARINATOS N., HÄGG R. ed. *Greek Sanctuaries. New Approaches*. London-New York 1993.

MARINUCCI A. *Stipe votiva di Carsoli. Teste fittili*. Roma 1976

MARSHALL F.H. *Catalogue of the Jewellery, Greek, Etruscan and Roman in the Department of Antiquities. British Museum*. London 1911.

MARTIN R. 'Wooden figures from the source of the Seine.' *Antiquity XXXIX*, 1965, pp.247-252.

MAULE Q. 'A Near-Classical style in Italy.' *AJA LXXXI*, 1977 pp.487-505.

MAZZOLANI M. *Forma Italiae. Anagnia*. Roma 1969, pp.86-88, 104-110.

MEYER STEINEG T., SUDHOFF K. *Geschichte der Medizin*. Jena 1950.

MELIS F., QUILICI GIGLI S. 'Luoghi di culto nel territorio di Ardea.' *ArchCl XXXIV-XXXV*, 1982-83, pp.1-37.

MENGARELLI R. 'Il tempio del Manganello a Caere.' *StE IX*, 1935 pp.83-94.

- MERKLIN E. von *Führer* durch das Hamburgische Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe, II: Griechische und römische Altertümer. Hamburg 1930.
- MERRIFIELD R. *The archaeology of Ritual and Magic*. London 1987.
- MINGAZZINI P. 'Il santuario della dea Marica alle foci del Garigliano.' *MonAL* XXXVII, 1938, pp.693-956.
- MITROPOLLOU E. *Deities and Heroes in the form of Snakes*. Athens 1977.
- MITTEN D.G., DOERINGER S.F. *Master Bronzes from the Classical World*. Mainz 1967.
- MONTÉLIUS O. *La civilization primitive en Italie*. Stockholm 1895-1904.
- MORETTI M. *Inscriptiones Graecae Urbis Romae*. Roma 1968.
- MÜNZER F. *Römische Adelsparteien und Adelsfamilien*. Stuttgart 1940.
- MYRES J.L. 'The sanctuary site of Petsofa.' *ABSA* IX, 1902-3, pp.356-387.
- NAGY H. *Votive terracottas from the "Vignaccia", Cerveteri, in the Lowie Museum of Anthropology*. Roma 1988.
- NARDI G.M. *Problemi di embriologia umana antica e medievale*. Firenze 1938.
- NAUMANN F. *Antike Schmuck*. Vollständiger katalog der Sammlung und der Sonderausstellung vom 31.5 bis 31.8. 1980. Kassel 1980.
- NAUMANN G. *Griech. Weihinschriften*. 1933.
- NEUGEBAUER K. *Antiken in deutschem Privatbesitz*. Berlin 1938.
- NEWELL T. *The coinage of Demetrius Poliorcetes*. London 1927.
- NICHOLLS R. 'Type, group and series: a reconsideration of some coroplastic fundamentals.' *ABSA* XLVII, 1952, pp.217-226.
- NILSSON P.M. *Geschichte der griechischen Religion*. I, Munich 1955.

- NY CARLSBERG GLYPTOTEK, *Den Etruskiske Samling. Copenhagen 1966.*
- NOVI G. *Iscrizioni, Monumenti e Vico.* Napoli 1861.
- ORI E ARGENTI DELL'ITALIA ANTICA. Exhibition Catalogue. Torino 1961.
- PACCHIONI N. 'Osservazioni sulle pettinature delle donne Etrusche nei sarcofaghi e nelle urne chiusine e perugine.' *StE* XIII, 1939, pp.485-496.
- PAIRAULT MASSA F.H. *Recherches sur l'art et l'artisanat étrusco-italiques à l'époque hellénistique.* Bibliothèque des Écoles Françaises d'Athènes et de Rome. Roma 1985.
- PALLOTTINO M. 'Tarquinia.' *MonAL* XXXVI, 1937, pp.1-616.
- PALLOTTINO M. *La peinture étrusque.* Genève 1952.
- PALLOTTINO M. *Art of the Etruscans.* London 1955.
- PALLOTTINO M. 'Scavi nel santuario Etrusco di Pyrgi. Relazione sull'attività svolta negli anni 1968-9.' *ArchCl* XXI, 1969, pp.290-294.
- PALLOTTINO M. *Civiltà artistica Etrusco-Italica.* 2nd ed. Firenze 1985.
- PANOFKA T. 'Die Heilgötter der Griechen.' *Abhandlungen der königlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin. Philosophisch-historische Classe* 1843, pp.257-274.
- PARIBENI E. *Museo Nazionale Romano. Sculture Greche del V sec.* Roma 1953.
- PARIBENI E. 'Considerazioni sulle sculture originali Greche di Roma.' *Atti VIII Convegno Magna Grecia.* Napoli 1969, pp.83-89.
- PAULY A. , WISSOWA G. *Real-Encyklopädie der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft.* vols. Stuttgart, 1894-1922.
- PAZZINI A. 'Il significato degli ex-voto ed il concetto della divinità guaritrice.' *RdLinc* IX, 1935, pp.42-79.

- PAZZINI A. 'Il pensiero Greco di Alcmeone il Crotoniate secondo le fonti dossografiche.' *AttiLinc* VII-VIII, 1963.
- PENSABENE P. 'Doni votivi fittili di Roma: contributo per un inquadramento storico.' *ArchLaz* II, 1979, pp.217-222.
- PENSABENE P. *Terracotte votive del Tevere*. Studi Miscellanei XXV. Roma 1980.
- PENSABENE P., SANZI DI MINO M.R. *Museo Nazionale Romano. Le Terracotte*. III, 1. Roma 1983.
- PIFFIG A.J. *Religio Etrusca*. Graz 1975.
- PHILLIPS K.M. 'Four terracotta heads in the Ella Riegel Museum at Bryn Mawr.' *StE* XXXIII, 1965, pp.527-531.
- POTTER T.W. *The changing landscape of South Etruria*. London 1979.
- POTTER T.W. 'A Republican healing-sanctuary at Ponte di Nona near Rome and the classical tradition of votive medicine.' *JBAA* CXXXVIII, 1985, pp.23-47.
- POTTIER E. *Les statuettes de terre cuite dans l'antiquité*. Paris 1890.
- POULSEN F. *Der Orient und die frühgriechische Kunst*. Leipzig/Berlin 1912.
- POULSEN F. *Greek and Roman Portraits in English Country Houses*. Oxford 1923.
- POULSEN F. *Catalogue of ancient sculpture in the Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek*. Copenhagen 1951.
- POULSEN V. *Le portraits Grec*. Copenhagen 1954.
- POULSEN V. 'Etruscan Art' *Etruscan Culture, Land and People*. Malmö-New York 1962.
- POULSEN V. ed. *Den Etruskiske Samling*. Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek Copenhagen 1966

- POULSEN V. *Etruskische Kunst*. Königsberg 1969.
- POURSAT J.C. 'Circonscription d'Auvergne.' *Gallia* XXI, 1973, pp.439-444.
- PRELLER L. *Religionen der Stadt Rom*. Jena 1846.
- PRIMA ITALIA. *L'arte Italica del I millennio a.C.* Exhibition Catalogue. Roma 1981.
- PUGLIESE CARRATELLI G. 'Santuari extra-murani in Magna Graecia.' *ParPass* XXIII, 1962, pp.241-246.
- QUARLES VAN UFFORD L. *Les terrecuites Siciliennes. Une étude sur l'art Sicilien entre 550 et 450*. Assen 1941.
- QUILICI GIGLI S. 'Un deposito votivo nella tenuta della Bufalotta.' *NS* XXXV, 1981, pp.77-97.
- REEDER E.D. *Hellenistic art in the Walters Art Gallery*. Baltimore 1988.
- REINACH S. *Cults, mythes et religions*. Paris 1905.
- REINACH T. 'Un temple élevé par les femmes de Tanagra.' *Revue d'Études Grecques* XII, 1899, pp.53-115.
- RICHARDSON E. 'The Etruscan Origins of early Roman sculpture.' *MAAR* XXI, 1953, pp.77-124.
- RICHARDSON E. *Etruscan Votive Bronzes, Geometric, Orientalizing, Archaic*. Mainz 1983.
- RICHTER G. 'Polychromy in Greek Sculpture with special reference to the Archaic Attic Gravestones in the Metropolitan Museum.' *AJA* XLVIII, 1944, pp.321-333.
- RICHTER G. 'Pisistratos law regarding tombs.' *AJA* XLIX, 1945, p.152.
- RICHTER G. *Attic red figure vases. A survey*. New York 1946
- RICHTER G. 'Origins of verism in Roman portraits.' *JRS* XLV, 1955, pp.39-46.

- RICHTER G. *The portraits of the Greeks. 3 vols. London 1965.*
- RIDGWAY B.S. *The Severe Style in Greek sculpture.* Princeton 1970.
- RIIS P.J. *Tyrrhenika, an archaeological study of the Etruscan sculpture of the Archaic and Classical periods.* Copenhagen 1941.
- RIIS P.J. *Etruscan Art.* Copenhagen 1953.
- RIIS P.J. *Etruscan types of heads.* Copenhagen 1981.
- RIZZELLO M. *I Santuari della media valle del Liri, IV-I sec.a.C. Depositi votivi e rinvenimenti di Arce, Arpino, Atina, Bovile, Canneto, Casalvieri, Ceprano, Colli, Sora, Veroli.* Roma 1980.
- RIZZO G.E. 'Busti fittili di Agrigento.' *Abhandlungen des Österreichischen Archäologischen Institutes* XIII, 1910, pp.63-86.
- RIZZO G.E. *Prassitele.* Milano 1932.
- RIZZO G.E. *Monete Greche della Sicilia.* Roma 1946.
- RODWELL W.J. ed. *Temples, Churches and Religion. BAR LXXVII,* Oxford 1980.
- ROBINSON D.M. 'Etrusco-Campanian antefixes and other terracottas from Italy at the John Hopkins University.' *AJA* XXVII, 1923, pp.21-22.
- ROEBUCK C. *The Asklepieion and Lerna. Corinth 14.* Princeton 1951.
- ROGHI M. 'Terracotte votive del Lazio Meridionale.' *ArchLaz* II, 1979, pp.226-229.
- ROMA MEDIO REPUBBLICANA. *Aspetti culturali di Roma e del Lazio nei Secoli IV e III a.C. Exhibition Catalogue.* Roma 1973.
- RONCALLI F. 'Un bronzo Etrusco della collezione Carpegna nel Museo Profano della Biblioteca Vaticana.' *Miscellanea Dohrn* Roma 1982, pp.89-96.
- ROSSI A. *Templi dell'Italia antica.* Milano 1980.

- ROSSI F. 'Un gruppo di terracotte votive da Lucera.' *ArchCl* XXXII, 1980, pp.67-84.
- ROUSE W.H.D. *Greek votive offerings. A essay in the history of Greek religion.* Cambridge 1902.
- SALMON E.T. *Samnium and the Samnites.* Cambridge 1967.
- SALMON E.T. *Il Sannio e i Sanniti.* Torino 1985.
- SAMBON L. *Donaria of medical Interest.* London 1895, reprinted for the Author from the *British Medical Journal*, July 20th and 27th 1895.
- SANDE S. 'Die Aspasia-Herme und verwandte Bildnisse.' *Acta Hyperborea* IV, 1992, pp.43-56.
- SANTANGELO M. 'Una terracotta di Falerii e lo Zeus di Fidia.' *BdA* XXXIII, 1948, pp.1-16.
- SANTANGELO M. 'Veio. Santuario di Apollo. Scavi fra il 1944 e il 1949'. *BdA* XXXVII, 1952, pp.147-172.
- SANTANGELO M. 'Bronzetto di offerente a Cerere proveniente da Veio.' *ArchCl* IV, 1952, pp.46-54.
- SANTUARI D'ETRURIA.* Exhibition Catalogue. Milano 1985.
- SCHAAL H. *Griechische vasen und figürliche Tonplastik in Bremen.* Bremen 1933.
- SCHAEFFER C.F.A. 'Les porteurs de torques.' *Ugaritica* II, 1949, pp.49-120.
- SCHMIDT E. 'Silanion der Meister des Platonsbildnisses.' *JdI* XLVII, 1932, pp.239-303.
- SCHNEIDER-HERRMANN G. 'Some notes on Tarentine Art: terracotta heads from Etruria influenced by Tarentine Art.' *BABesch* XXIV-XXVI, 1949-51, pp.14-17.

SCHNEIDER-HERRMANN G. 'Some South Italian terracotta reliefs and their relationship to bronze vessels'. *BABesch* XLV, 1970, pp.38-49.

SCHREIBER T. *Studien über das Bildniss Alexanders des Grossen*. Leipzig 1903.

SCHUCHARDT W.T. *Die Meister des Grossen Frieses von Pergamon*. Berlin/Leipzig 1925.

SCHULZE W. *Zur Geschichte der lateinischen Eingennamen*. Berlin 1904.

SCHWEITZER B. *Antiken in Ostpreussischem Privatbesitz*. Halle 1929.

SCHWEITZER B. 'Studien zur Entstehung des Porträts bei den Griechen.' *Berichte der sächsischen Akademie Philologisch-Historische Klasse* XCI, fasc.4. Leipzig 1930.

SCHWEITZER B. *Die Bildniskunst der Römischen Republik*. Tübingen 1948.

SCHWEITZER B. *Zur Kunst der Antike. Ausgewählte Schriften. II*. Tübingen 1963.

SEGALL B. 'Realistic portraiture in Greece and Egypt, a portrait bust of Ptolemy I'. *J. Walters Art Gallery* IX, 1946, pp.55-67.

SERENI E. *Comunità rurali nell'Italia antica*. Roma 1955.

SESTIERI P.C. 'Ricerche posidoniati.' *MEFRA* LXVII, 1955, pp.35-48.

SGUBINI MORETTI A.M. 'Materiali archeologici scoperti a Locus Feroniae.' *Nuove scoperte e acquisizioni nell'Etruria meridionale*. Roma 1975, pp.110-132.

SIGERIST H.E. *A History of Medicine*. Oxford 1961.

SINN U. *Antike Terrakotten. Katalog der Staatlichen Kunstsammlungen Kassel*. no.8. Kassel 1977.

SIVIERO M. *Gli ori e le ambre del Museo Nazionale di Napoli*. Firenze 1954.

SMITH A.H. *A catalogue of sculpture in the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities*. British Museum. London 1892-1904.

SMITH R.R.R. 'The Roman Republican portraits.' *JRS* LXXI, 1981, pp.24-38.

SMITH R.R.R. *Hellenistic Royal Portraits*. Oxford 1988.

SMITH R.R.R. *Hellenistic Sculpture*. London 1991.

SOKOLOWSKY F. *Lois sacrées des Grecques*. Paris 1969.

SORDI M. *I rapporti romano-ceriti e l'origine della "civitas sine suffragio"*. Roma 1960.

SPRENGER M. *Die Etruskische Plastik des V Jahrhunderts v.Chr. und Verhältnis zur griechischen Kunst*. Roma 1972.

STEFANI G. *Terracotte figurate*. Materiali del Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Tarquinia. VII. Roma 1984.

STEINGRÄBER S. 'Zum Phänomenen der Etruskisch-Italischen Votivköpfe.' *RM* LXXXVII, 1980, pp.215-253.

STEINGRÄBER S. *Catalogo ragionato della pittura Etrusca*. Milano 1984.

STENBEN H. *Der Kanon des Polyklet*. Tübingen 1973.

STEUBEN von, H. 'Kopf des Polikletischen Herakles. Rom Konservatoren palhast BR.N.' *Antike Plastik* VII, 1967, pp.95-101.

STEWART A.F. *Skopas of Paros*. New Jersey 1977.

STIEDA L. *Anatomisch-archäologische Studien II, Anatomisches über alt-italische Weihgeschenke*. Wiesbaden 1901.

TABANELLI M. *Gli ex-voto poliviscerali Etruschi e Romani*. Firenze 1962.

THOMPSON B.D. 'Three centuries of Hellenistic terracottas.' *Hesperia* XXI, 1952, pp.116-164.

THOMPSON B.D. *Troy supplementary Monograph III*. University of Cincinnati. Princeton University Press 1963.

TORELLI M. 'Terza campagna di scavo a Punta della Vipera (Santa Marinella)'. *StE* XXXV, 1967, pp.331-352.

TORELLI M., POHL I. 'Veio, scoperta di un piccolo santuario Etrusco in località Campetti.' *NS* XXVII, 1973, pp.40-258.

TORELLI M. 'Il santuario Greco di Gravisca.' *ParPass* XXXII, 1977, pp.398-458.

TORELLI M. *Rerum Romanarum Fontes ab anno CCXCII ab annum CCLXV a.Ch.n.* Pisa 1978.

TORELLI M. 'Ideologia e rappresentazione nelle tombe Tarquiniesi dell'Orco I e II.' *DArch Atti Acquasparta* II, 1983, pp.7-17.

TORELLI M. *Lavinio e Roma. Riti iniziatici e matrimonio tra archeologia e storia*. Roma 1984.

TREASURES OF ANCIENT MACEDONIA. Exhibition Catalogue. Thessalonike 1978.

TRENDALL A.D. *The red-figured vases of Lucania, Campania and Sicily*. Oxford 1967.

TURFA J. 'Anatomical votive terracottas from Etruscan and Italic sanctuaries.' *Italian Iron Age artifacts in the British Museum*. London 1986, pp.205-213.

TURNER H.W. 'From Temple to Meeting House; the Phenomenology and Theology of Places of Worship'. *Religion and Society* XVI. The Hague 1979.

TÜRR S. *Spätetruskische Tonsarkophage*. Dissertation Giessen 1969.

UHLENBROCK J.E. *The protomai from Gela: History, Chronology, Style*. Dissertation New York University 1978.

VAGNETTI L. 'Nota sull'attività dei coroplasti etruschi'. *ArchCl* XVIII, 1966, pp.110-114.

- VAGNETTI L. *Il deposito votivo di Campetti a Veio*. Firenze 1971.
- VON BOTHMER D., NOBLE J.V. An inquiry into the forgery of the Etruscan terracotta warriors in the Metropolitan Museum of Art. Papers no.XI, Metropolitan Museum of Art. New York 1961.
- VATIN C. 'Circonscription d'Auvergne et Limousin.' *Gallia* XXVII, 1969, pp.320-330.
- VERMEULE C.C., von BOTHMER D. 'Notes on a New Edition of Michaelis: Ancient Marbles in Great Britain. Part Three:2' *AJA* 63, 1959 p.139-166.
- VERSNEL H.S. ed. *Faith, hope and worship, aspects of religious mentality in the ancient world. Studies in Greek and Roman Religion II*. Leiden/E.J.Brill 1981.
- VESSBERG O. *Studien zur Kunstgeschichte der römischen Republik*. Leipzig 1941.
- VIGHI R. *Il nuovo Museo Nazionale di Villa Giulia*. Roma 1959.
- VISCONTI E.Q. *Iconographie Grecque*. Paris 1889.
- WALTON A. *The cult of Asklepios*. Boston 1894.
- WALTERS H.B. *Catalogue of the Bronzes, Greek, Roman and Etruscan in the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities. British Museum*. London 1899.
- WALTERS H.B. *Catalogue of Terracottas in the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities. British Museum*. London 1903
- WATZINGER C. *Griechische Holzsarkophage aus der Zeit Alexanders des Grossen*. Leipzig 1905.
- WEINREICH O. *Antique Heilungswunder*. Giessen 1909.
- WELLS G. *Bones Bodies and Diseases*. Oxford 1961.
- WEST R. *Römische Porträt-Plastik*. Munchen 1933.

WHEELER T.V. 'Report on the excavation of the prehistoric, Roman and post-Roman site in Lydney Park, Gloucestershire'. *Report of the Research Committee of the Society of Antiquaries of London IX*. Oxford 1932.

WILL E. *Histoire Politique du monde Hellénistique*. Nancy 1979.

WILLIAMS LEHMANN P. 'A new portrait of Demetrios Poliorketes'. *The J.Paul Getty Museum Journal VIII*, 1980, pp.107-114.

WINTER F. *Die Typen der figürlichen Terrakotten*. I,II. Berlin-Stuttgart 1903.

WINTER N.A. 'Archaic architectural terracottas decorated with human heads.' *RM LXXXV*, 1978, pp.27-58.

WISSOWA G. *Die Religion und Kultus der Römer*. Munich 1912.

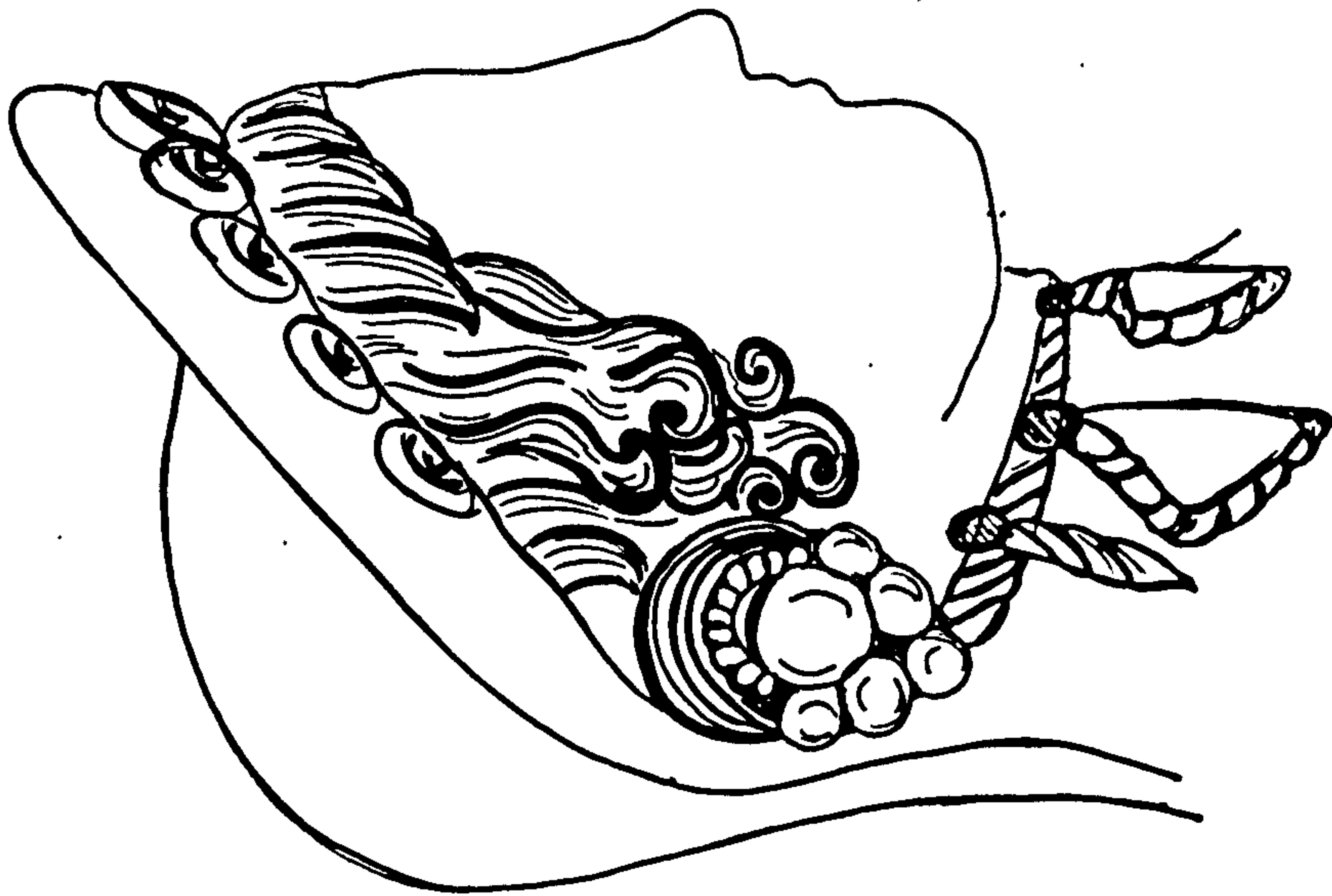
WUILLEUMIER P. *Tarante, des origines à la conquête Romaine*. Paris 1939.

ZACCAGNI P. 'Palestrina. Materiali votivi di Piazza Ungheria.' *ArchLaz III*, 1980, pp.188-191.

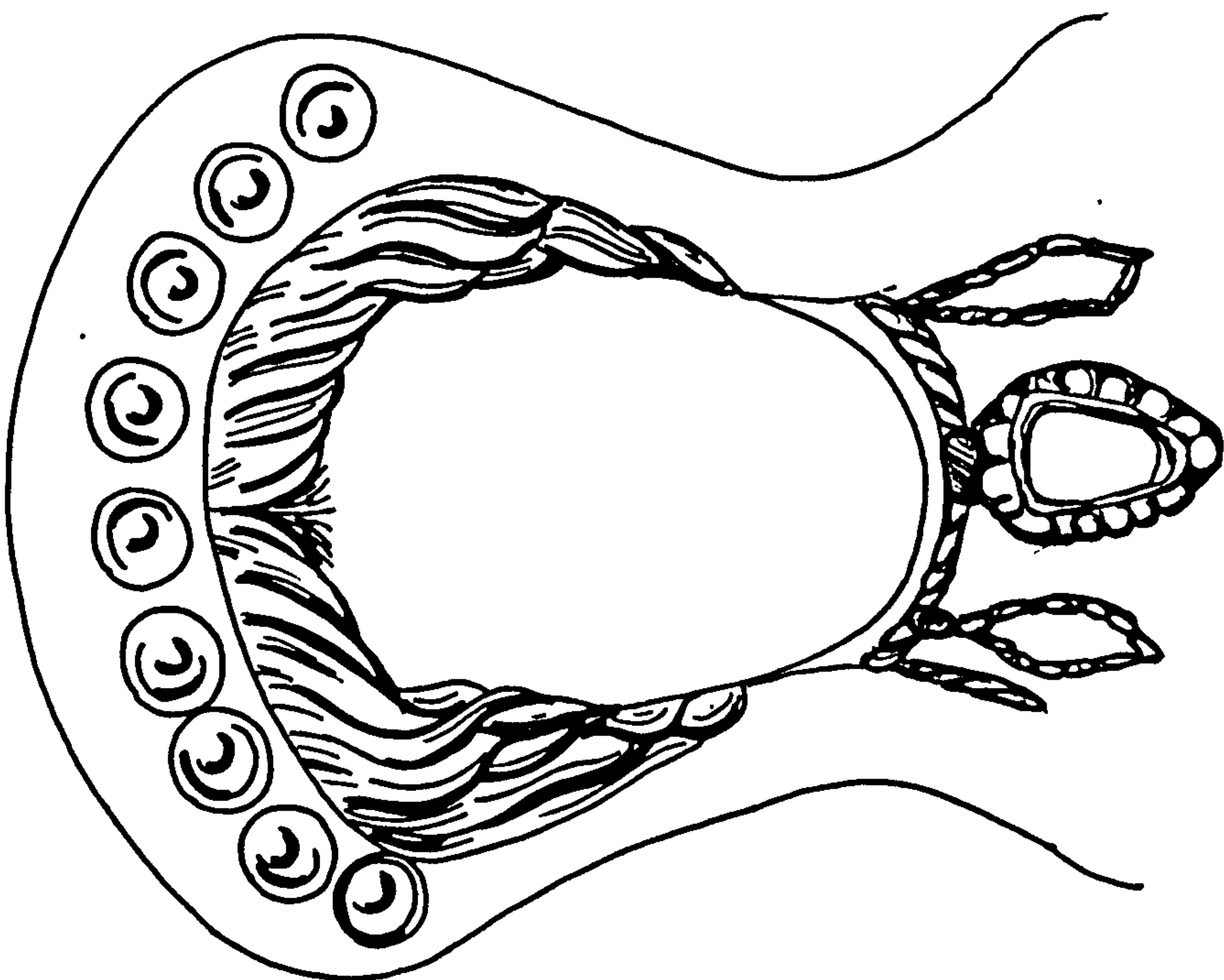
ZANKER P. *Klassizistische Statuen*. Studien zur Verdäuerung des Kunstgeschmacks in der Römischen Kaiserzeit. Mainz 1974.

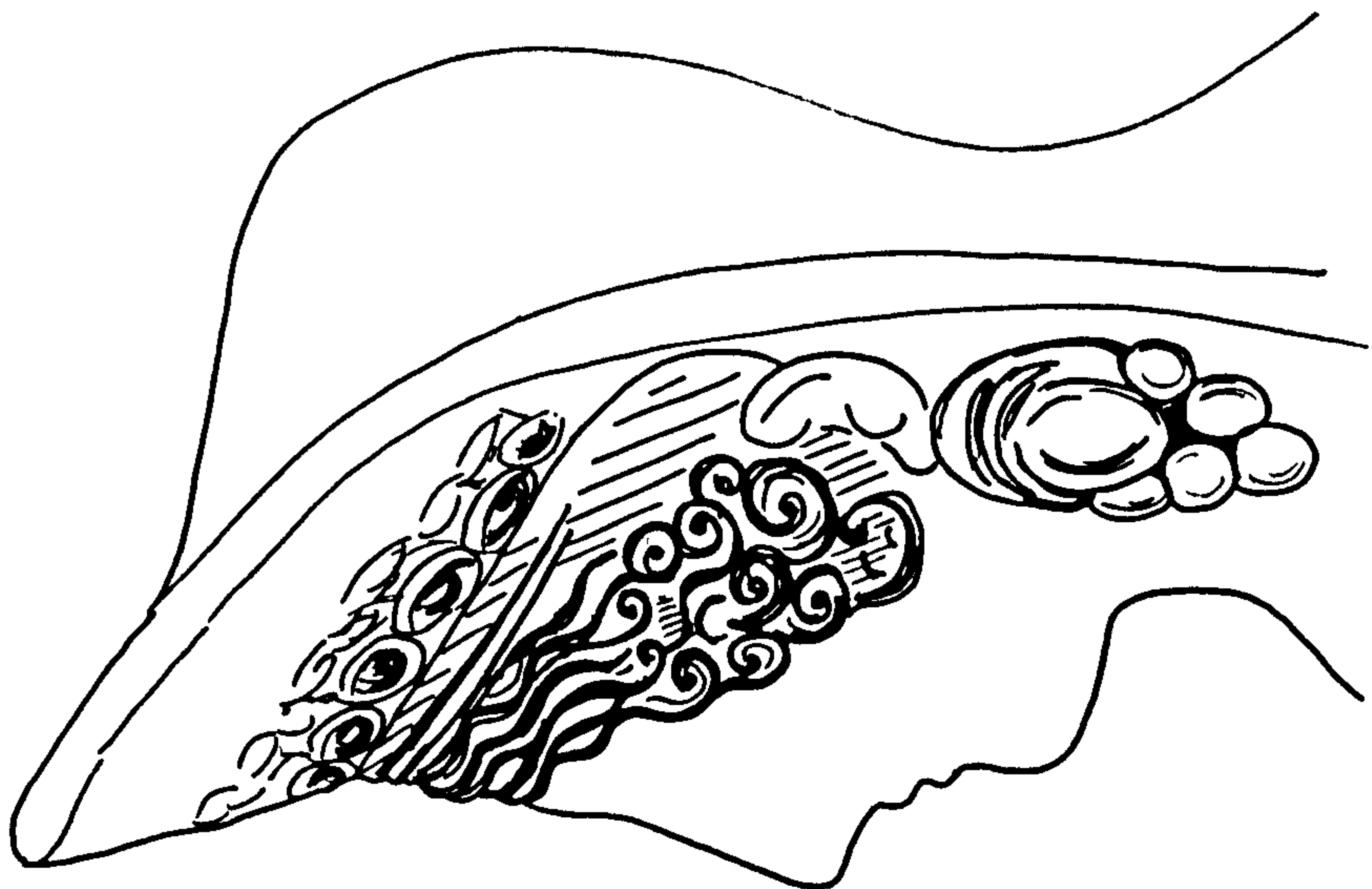
ZÜCHNER W. 'Griechische Klappspiegel.' *XIV Ergänzungsheft Jahrbuch* 1942.

**PAGE
NUMBERING
AS ORIGINAL**

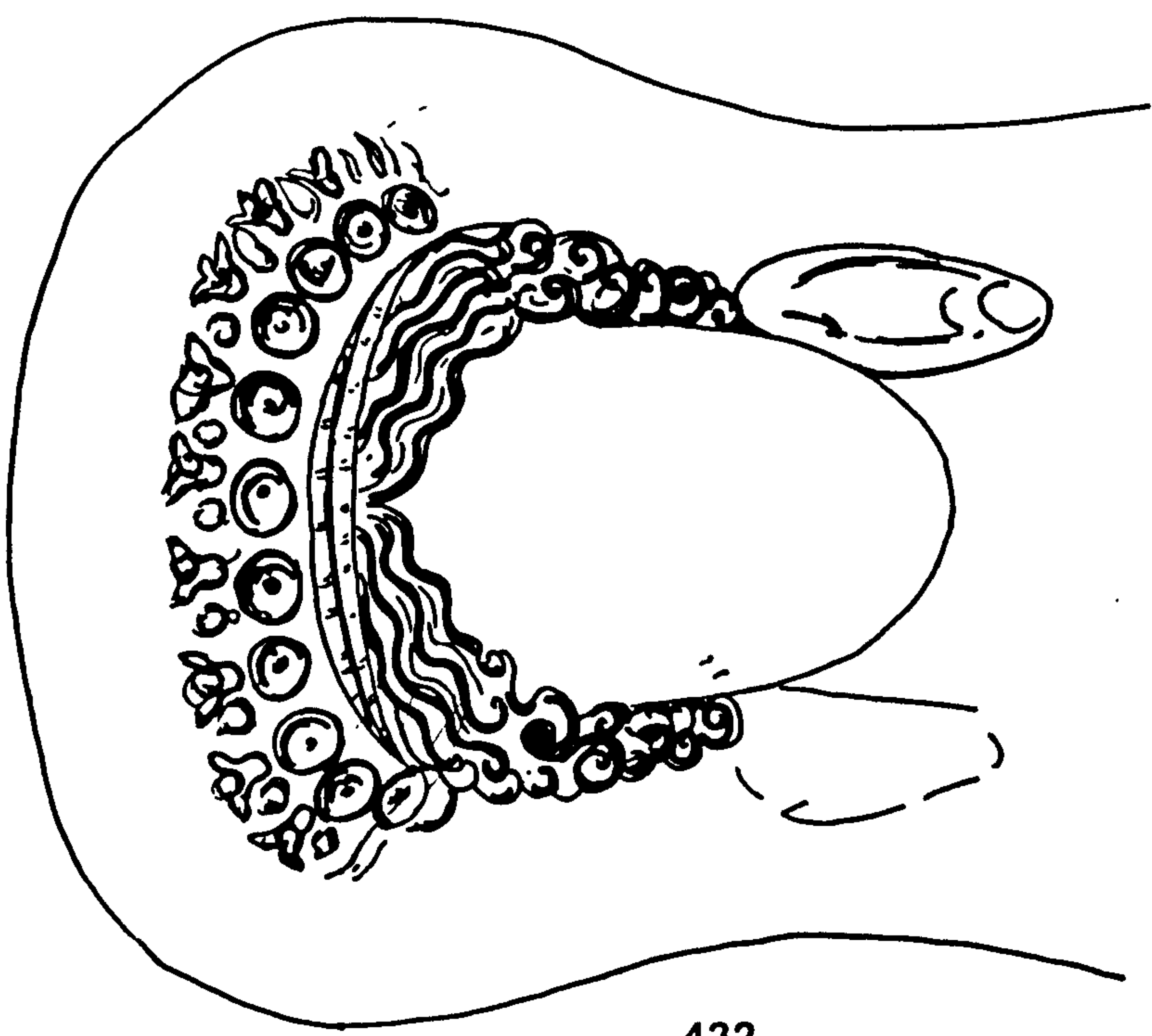


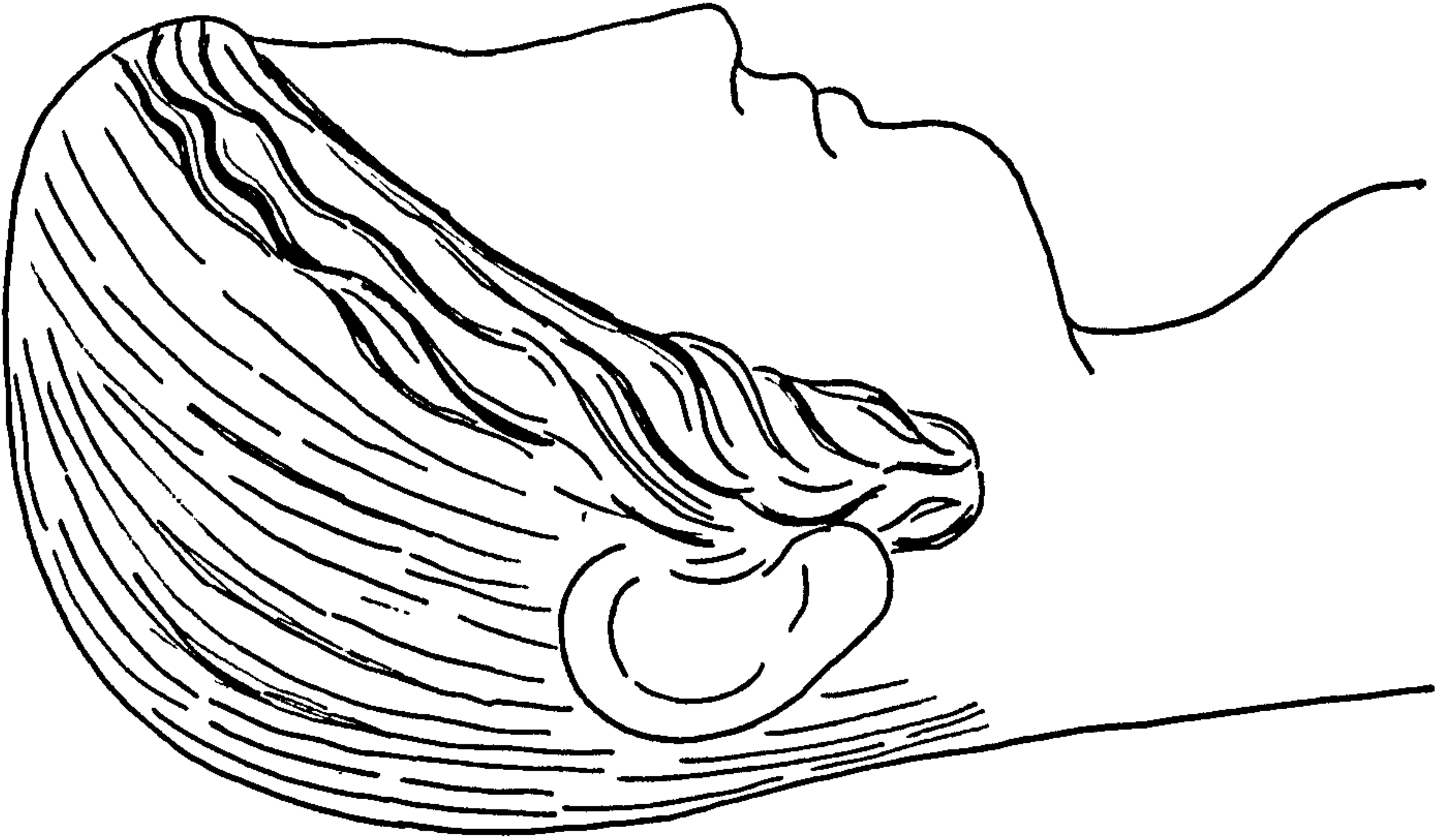
D.I: F2a



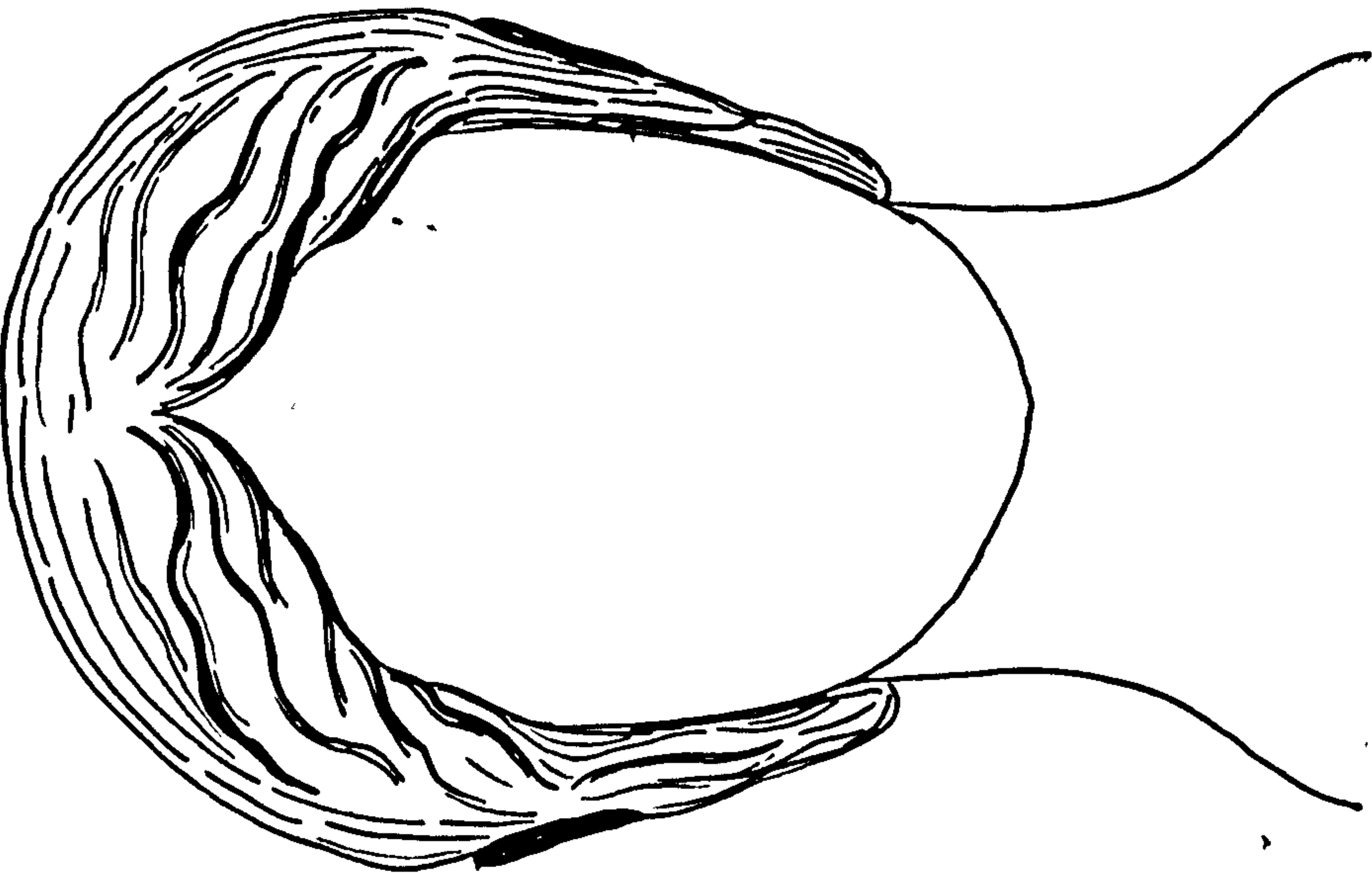


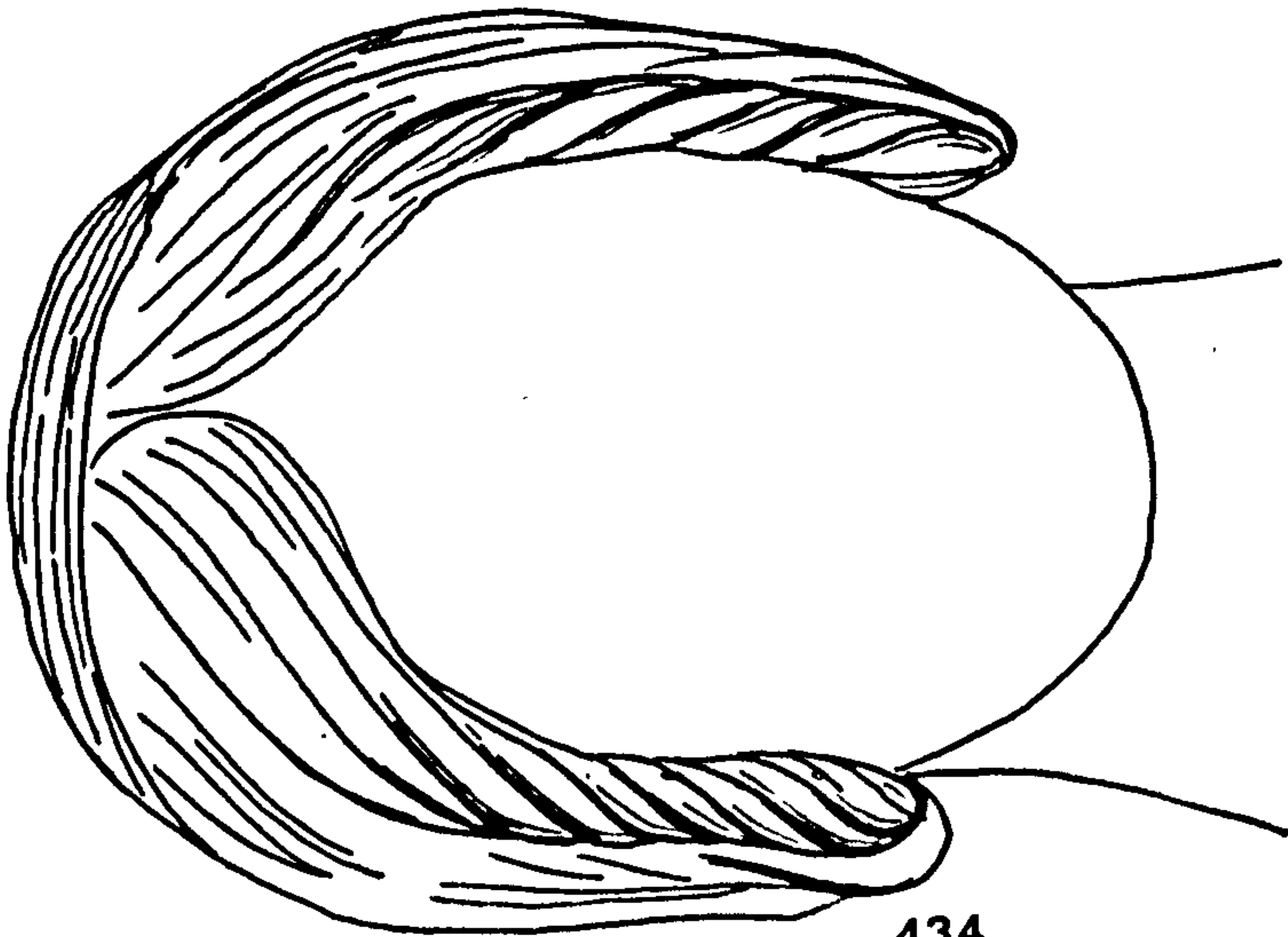
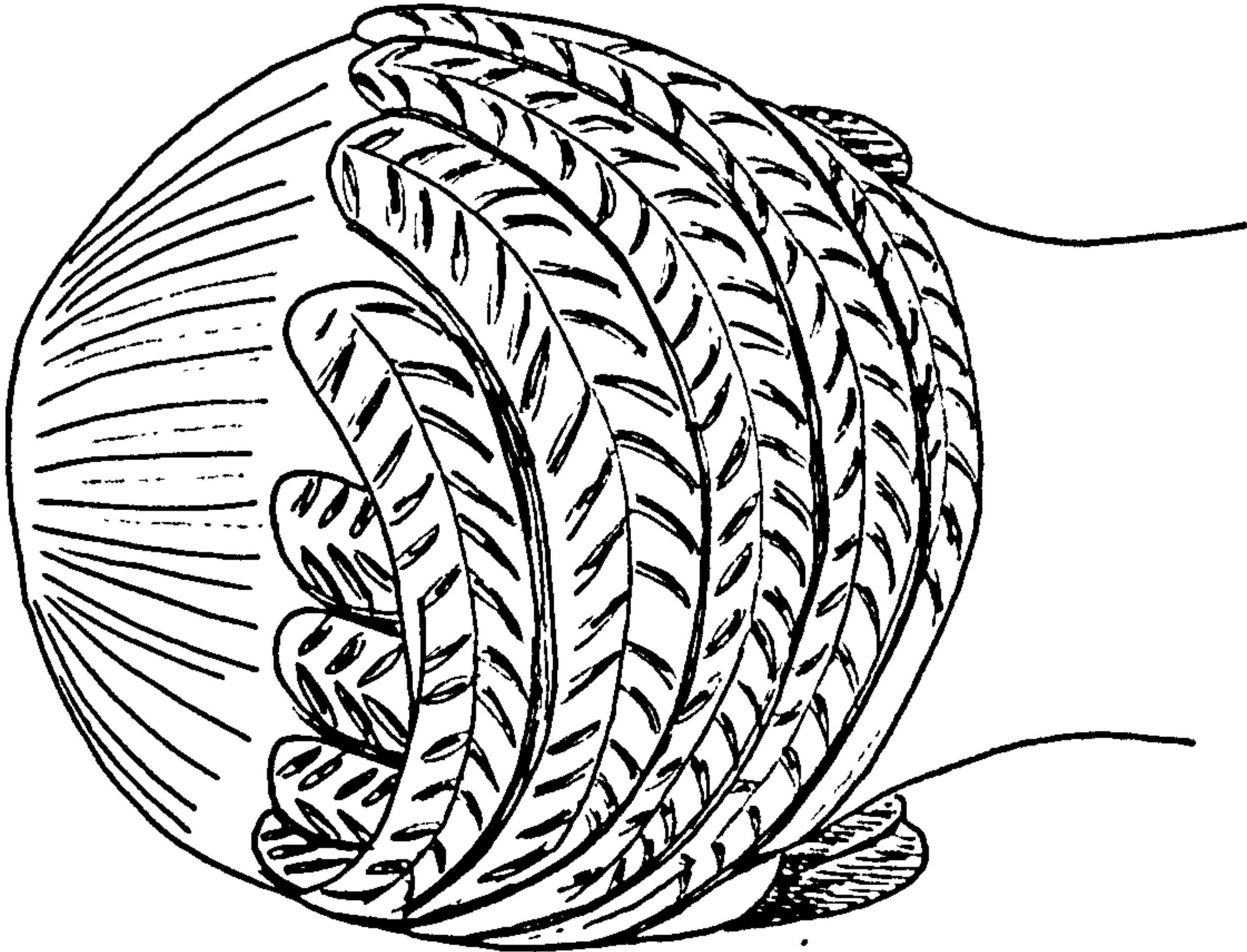
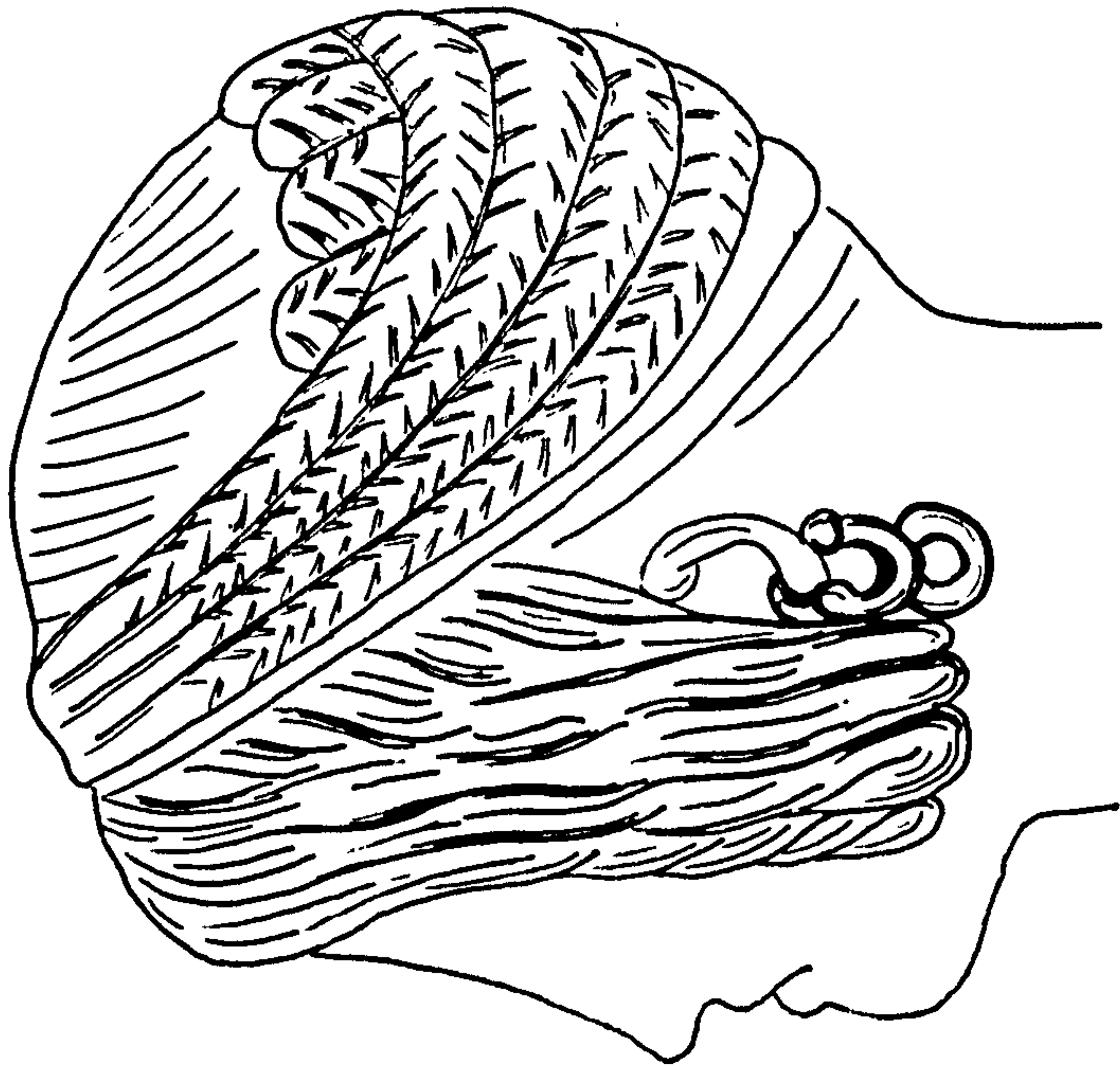
D.II: F2h





D.III: F2i

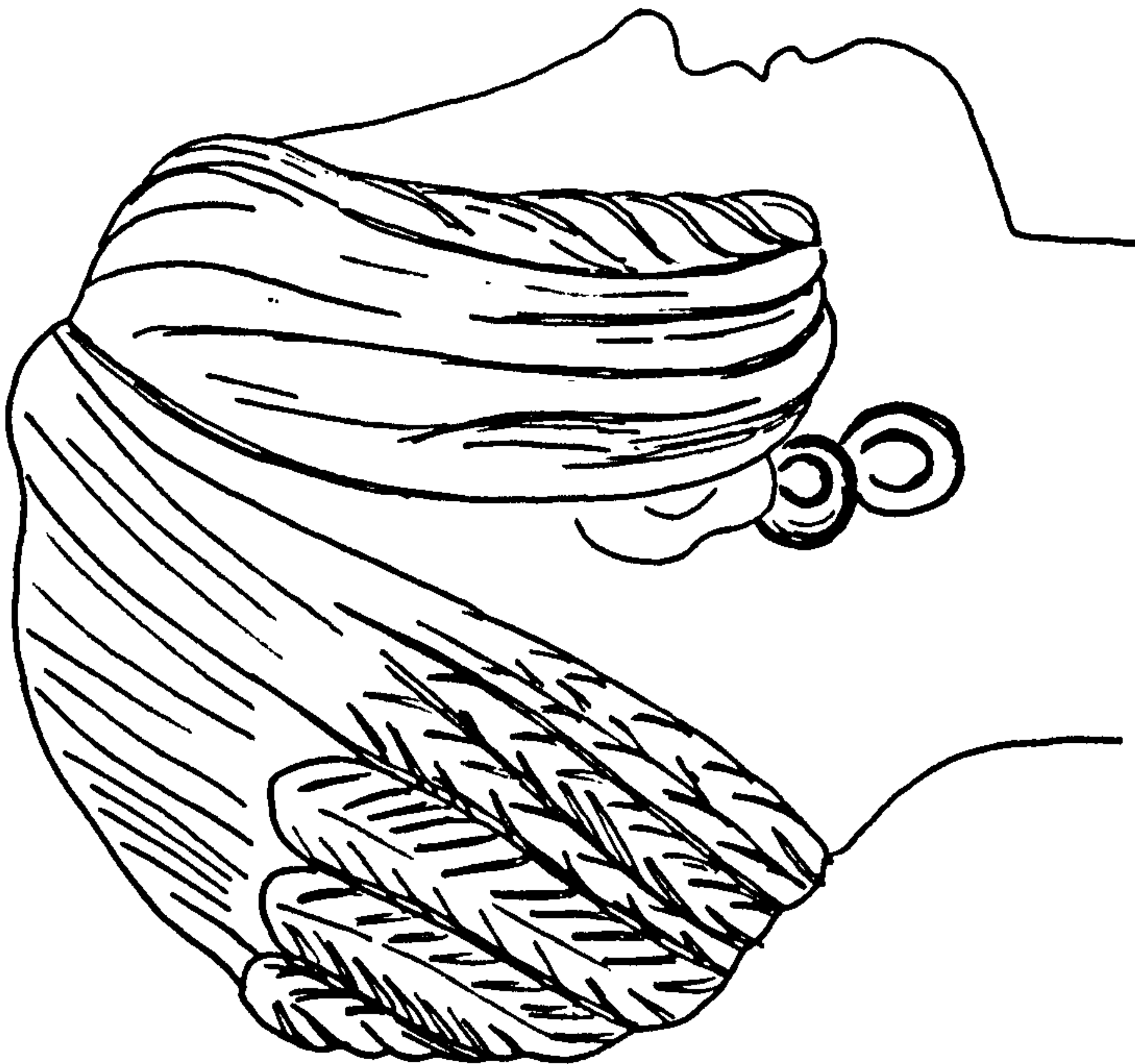


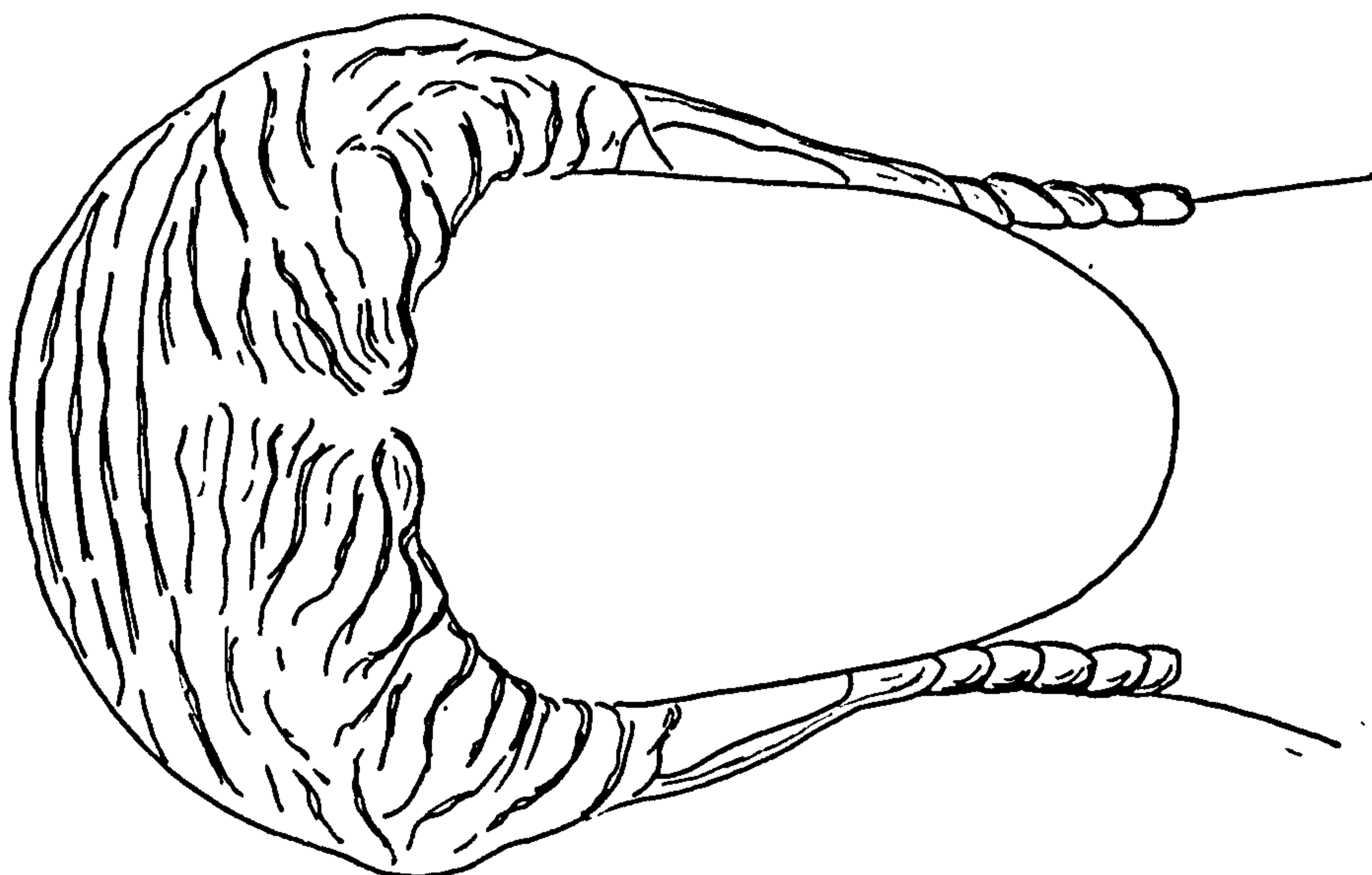


D.IV: F2dI

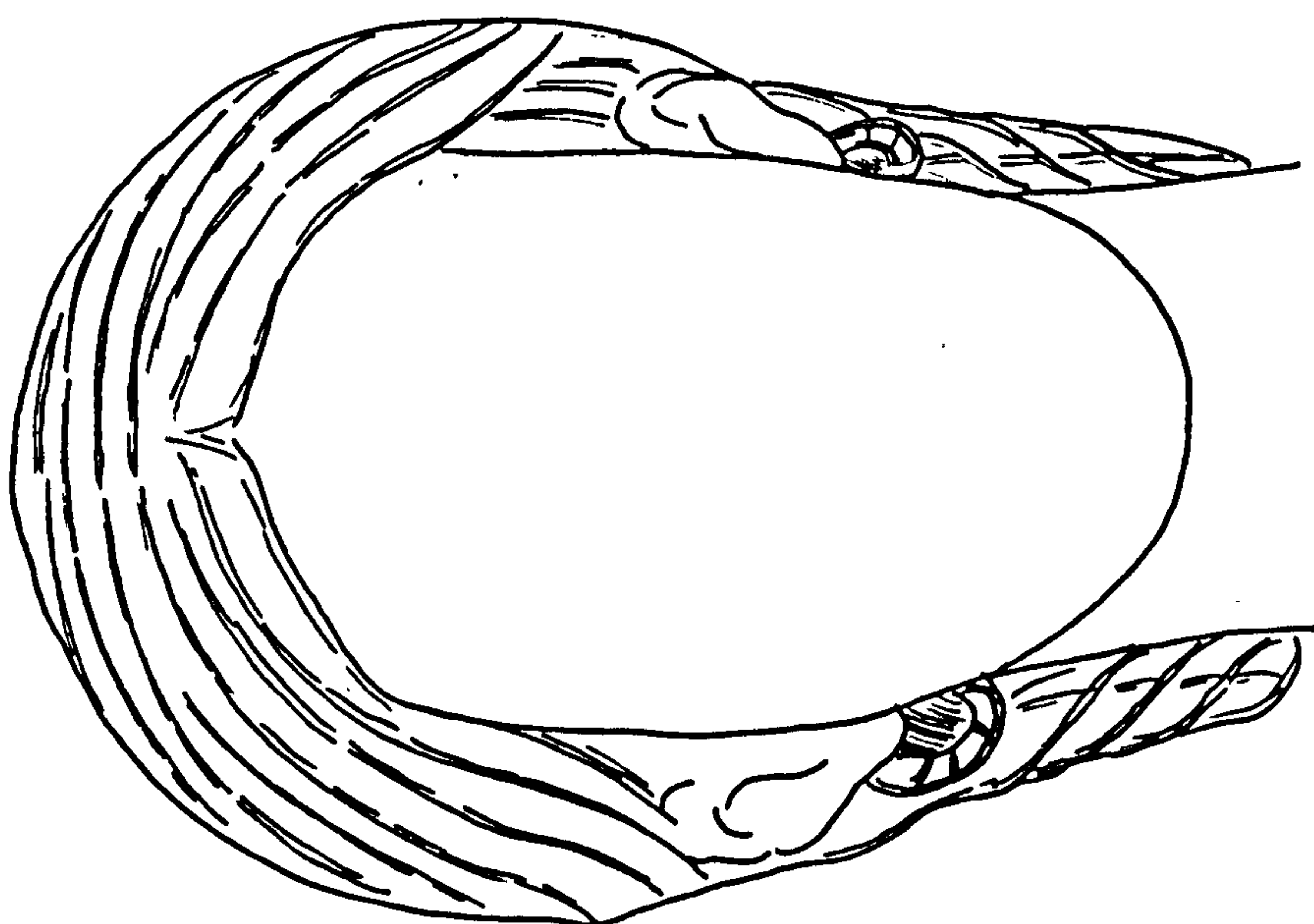


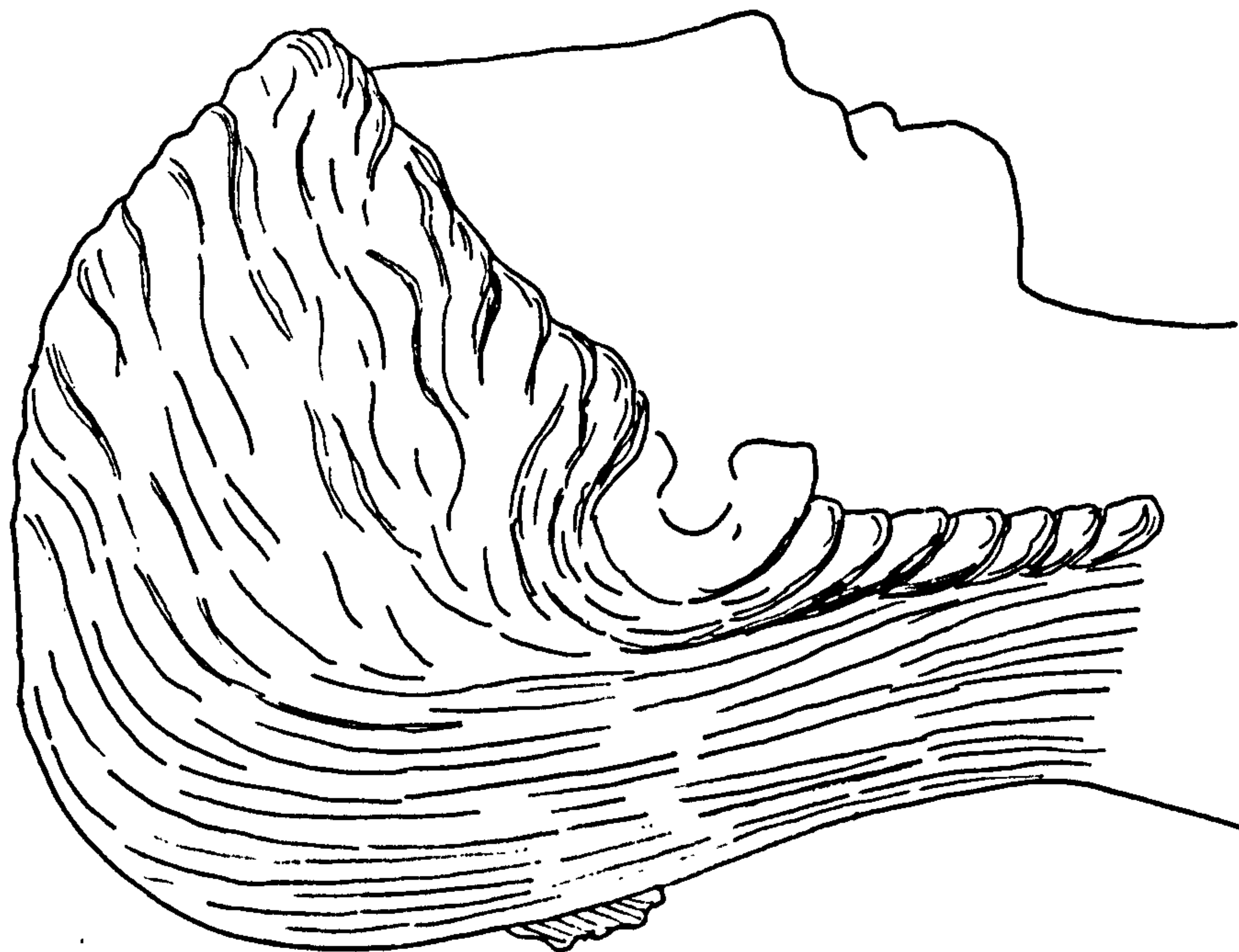
D.V: F2dI; F2dII



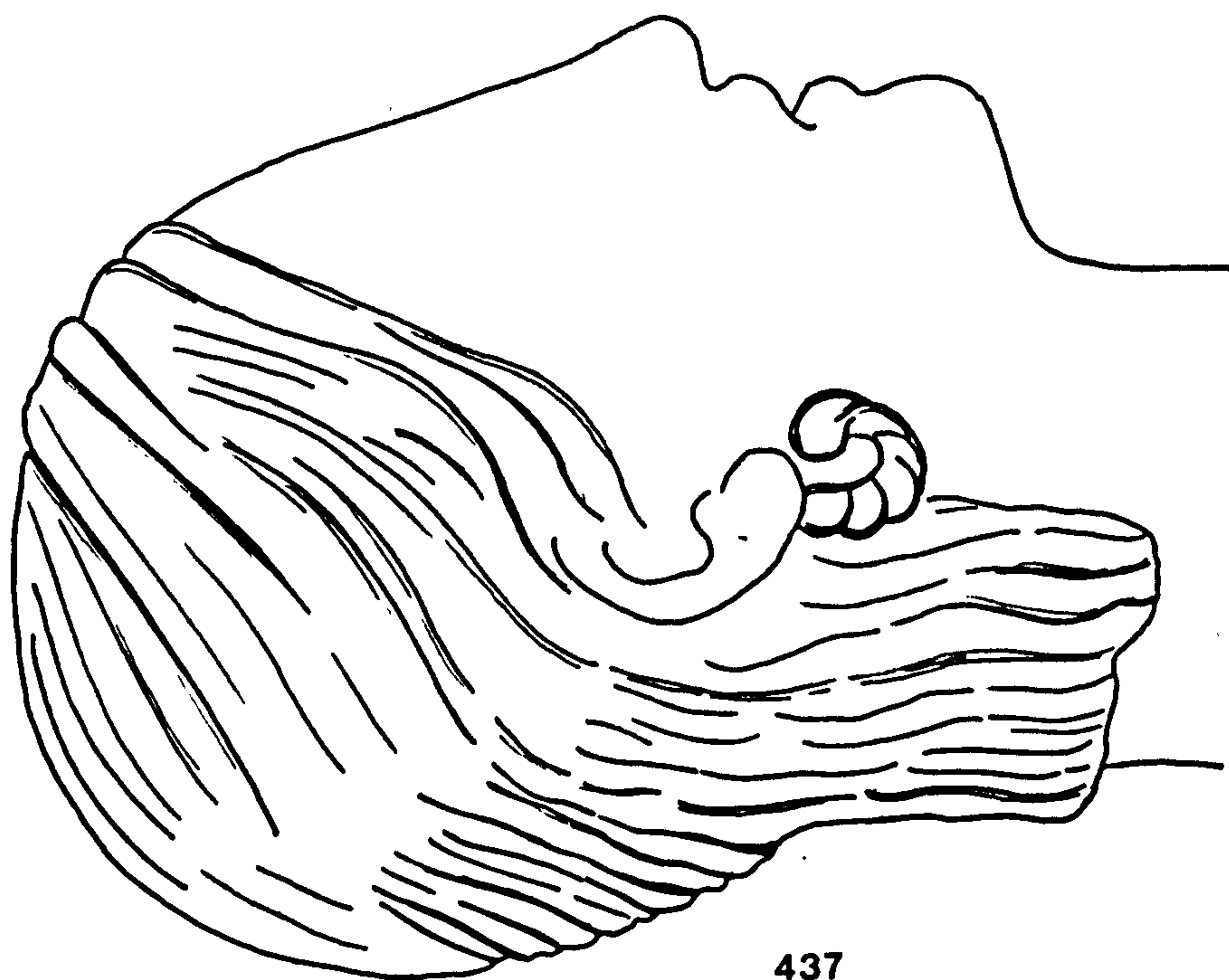


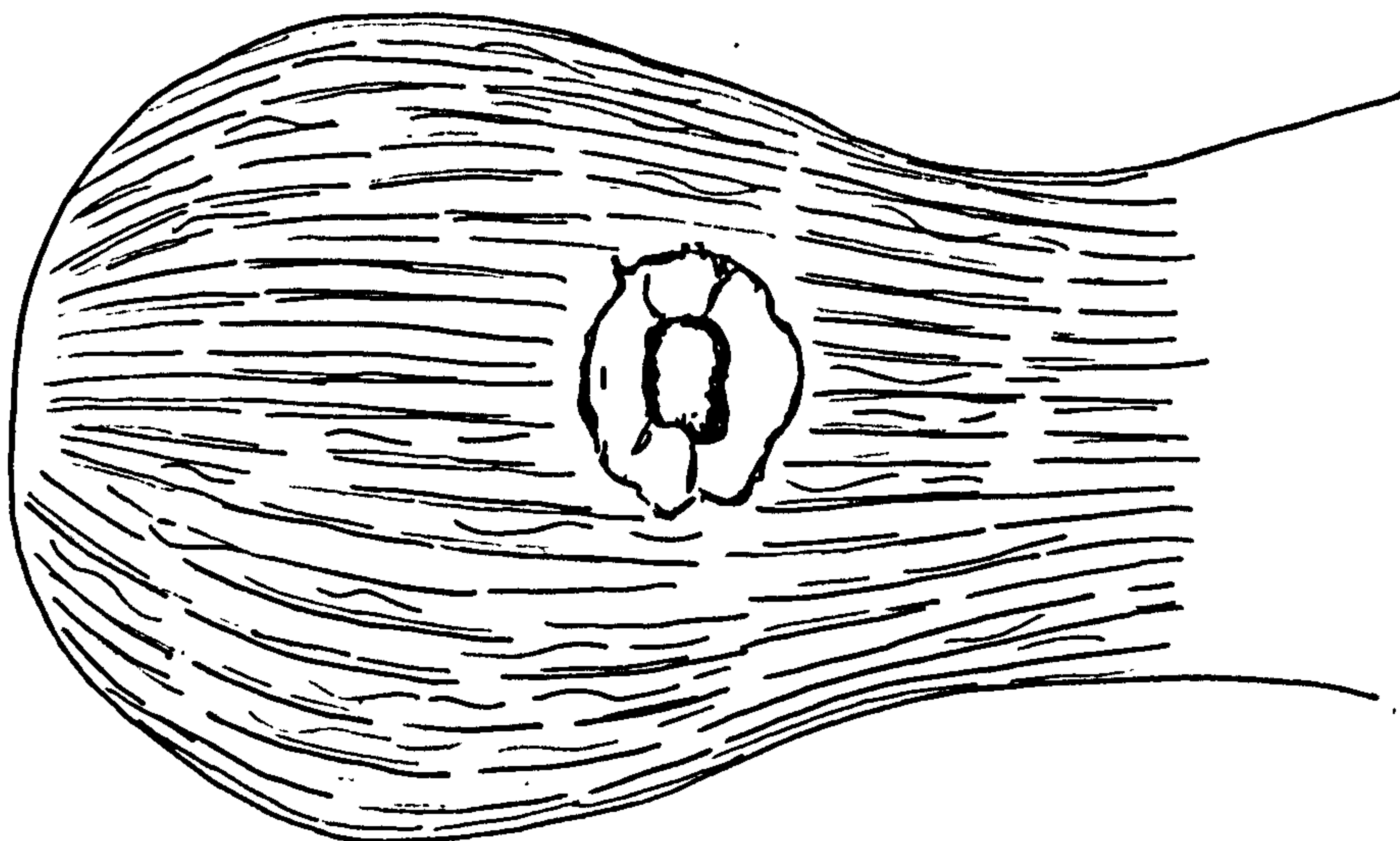
D.VI: F4j; F4K



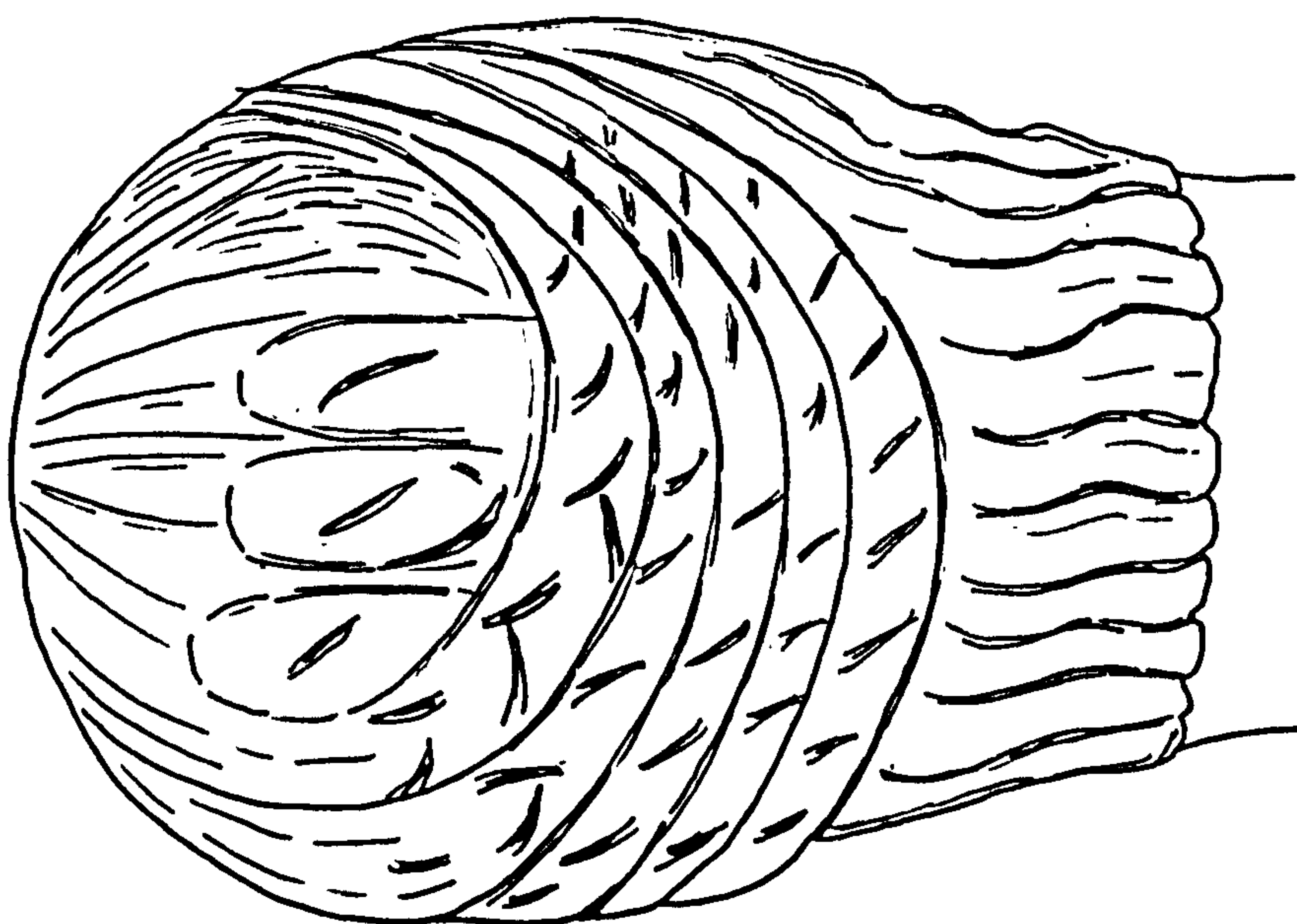


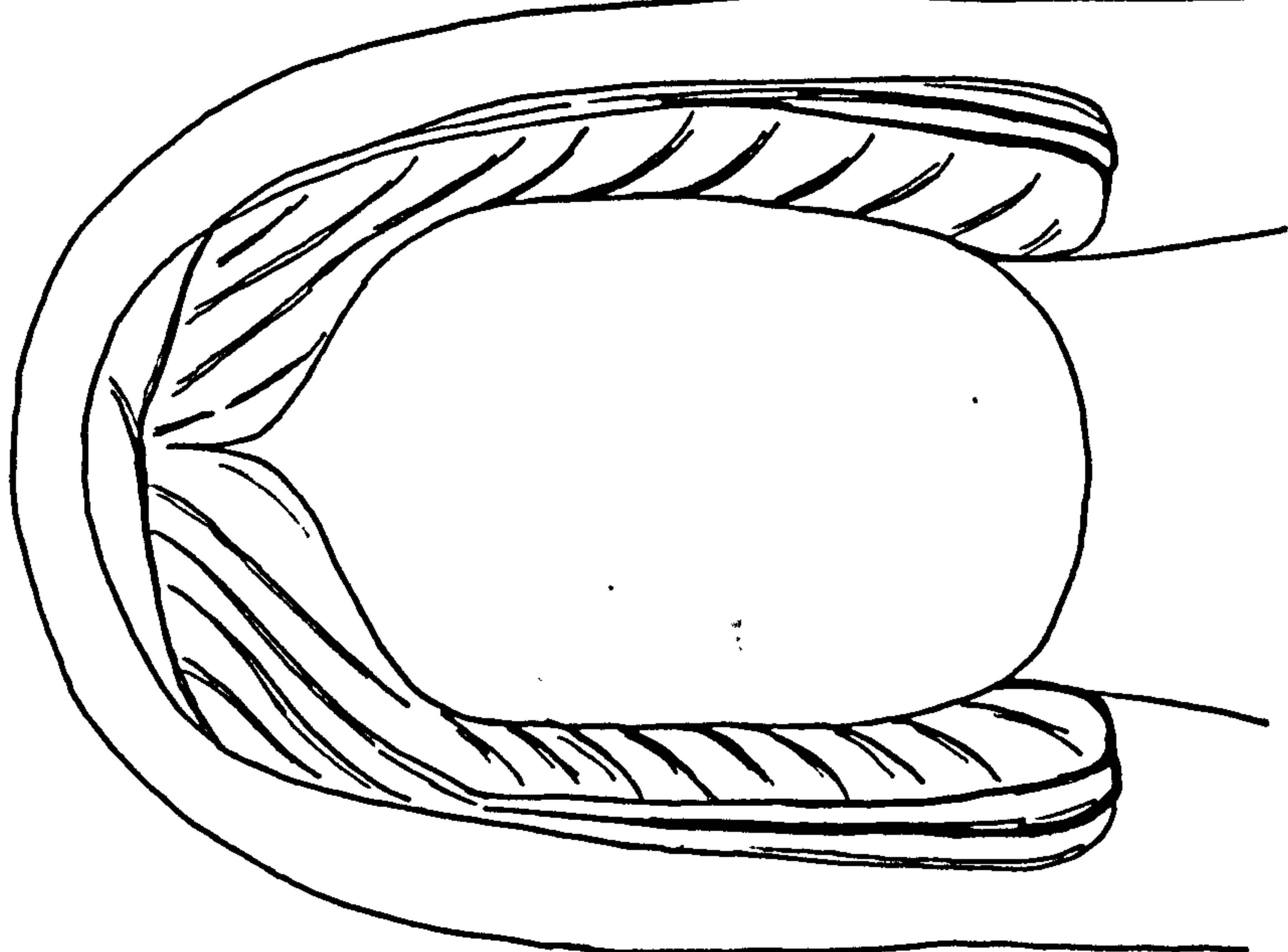
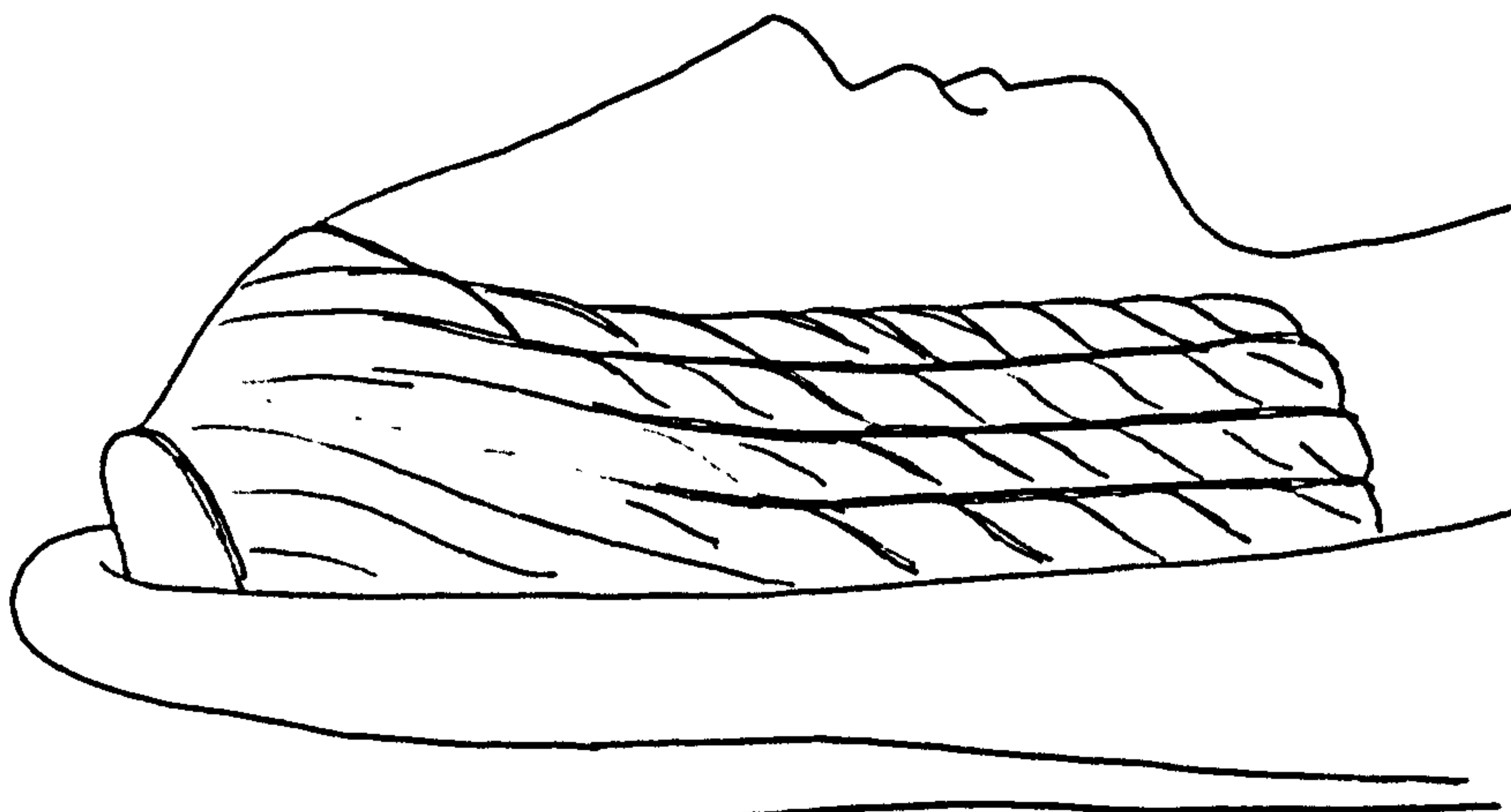
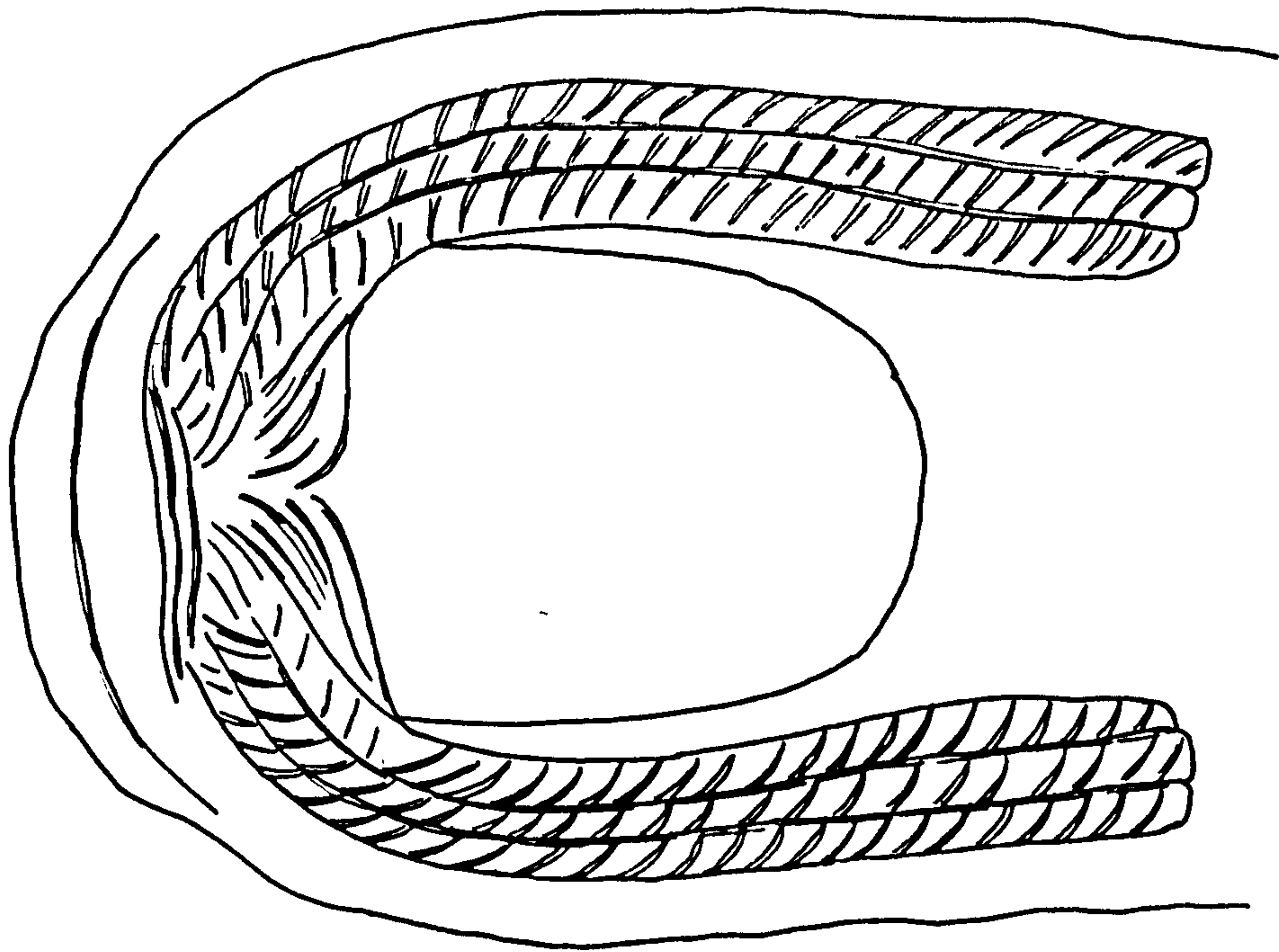
D.VII: F4j; F4k



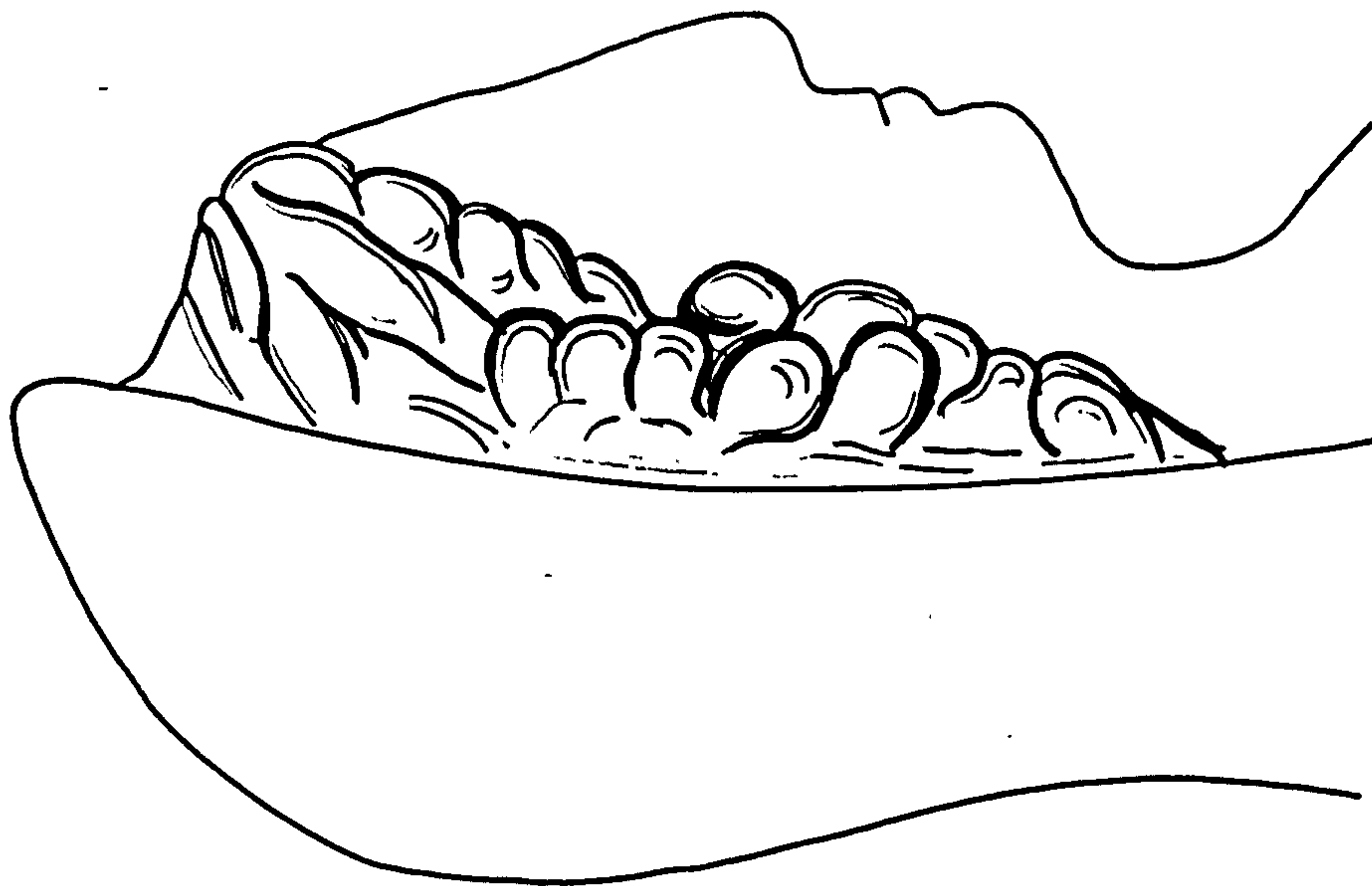


D.VIII: F4j; F4k

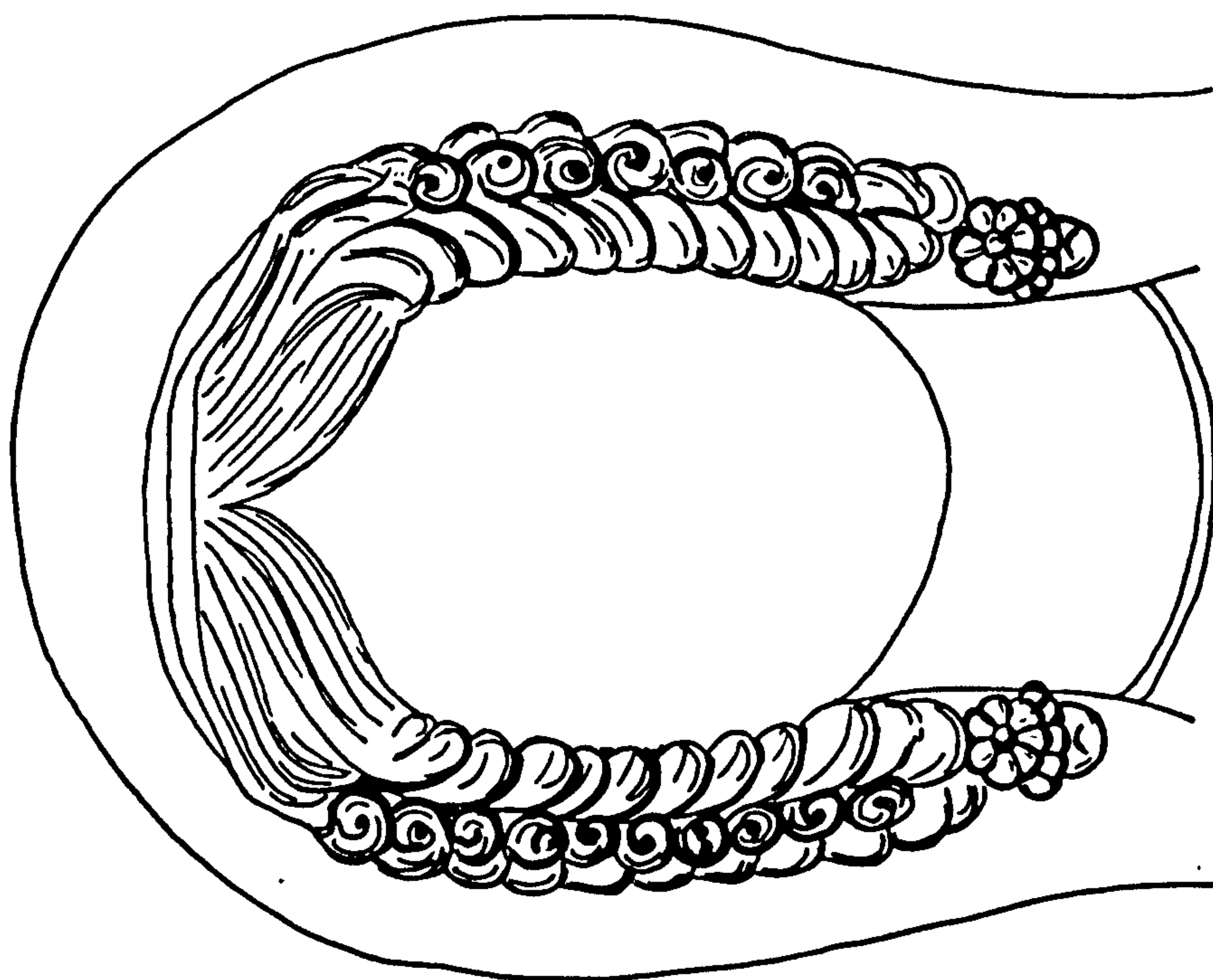


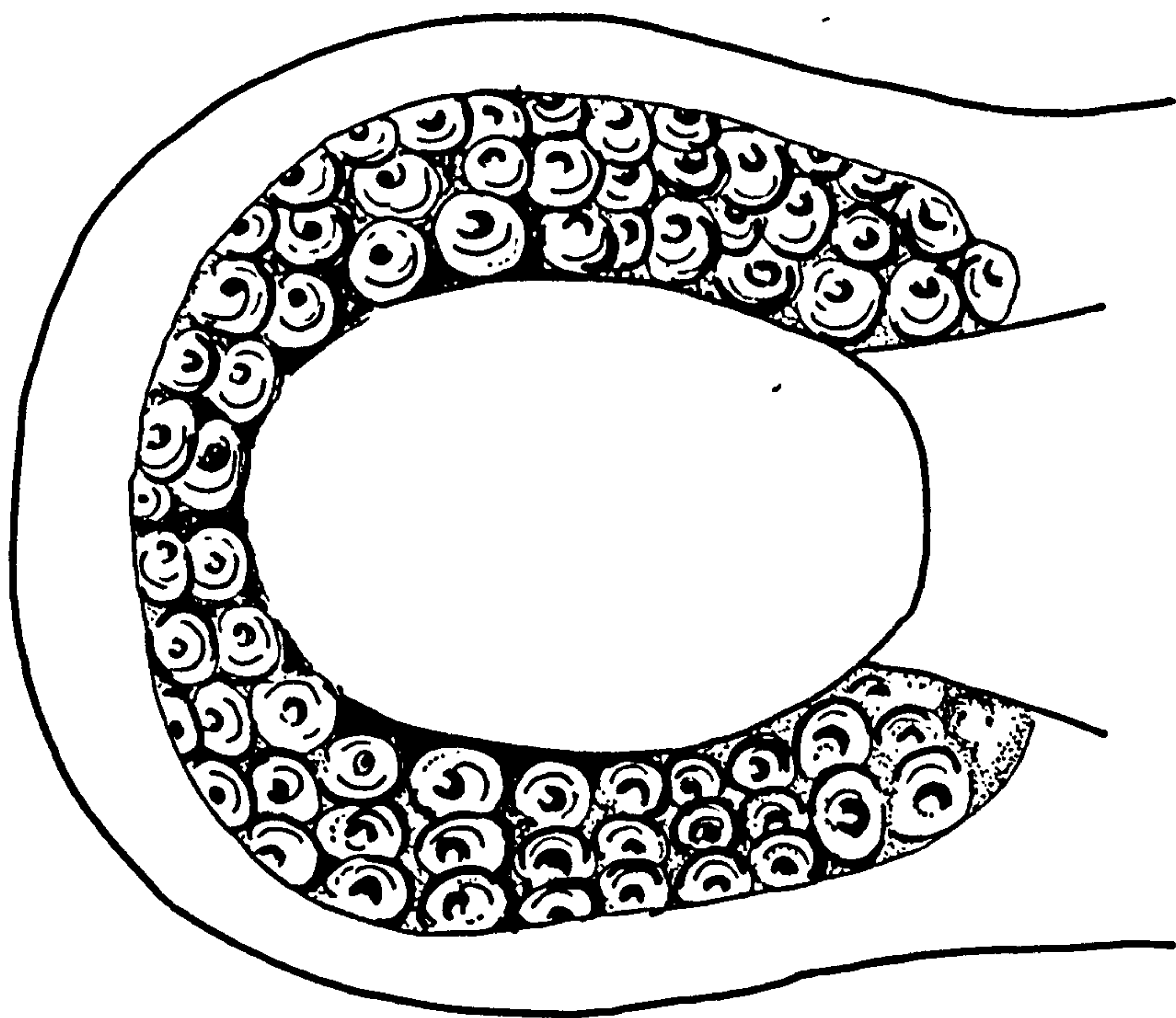


D.IX: F4h; F4i

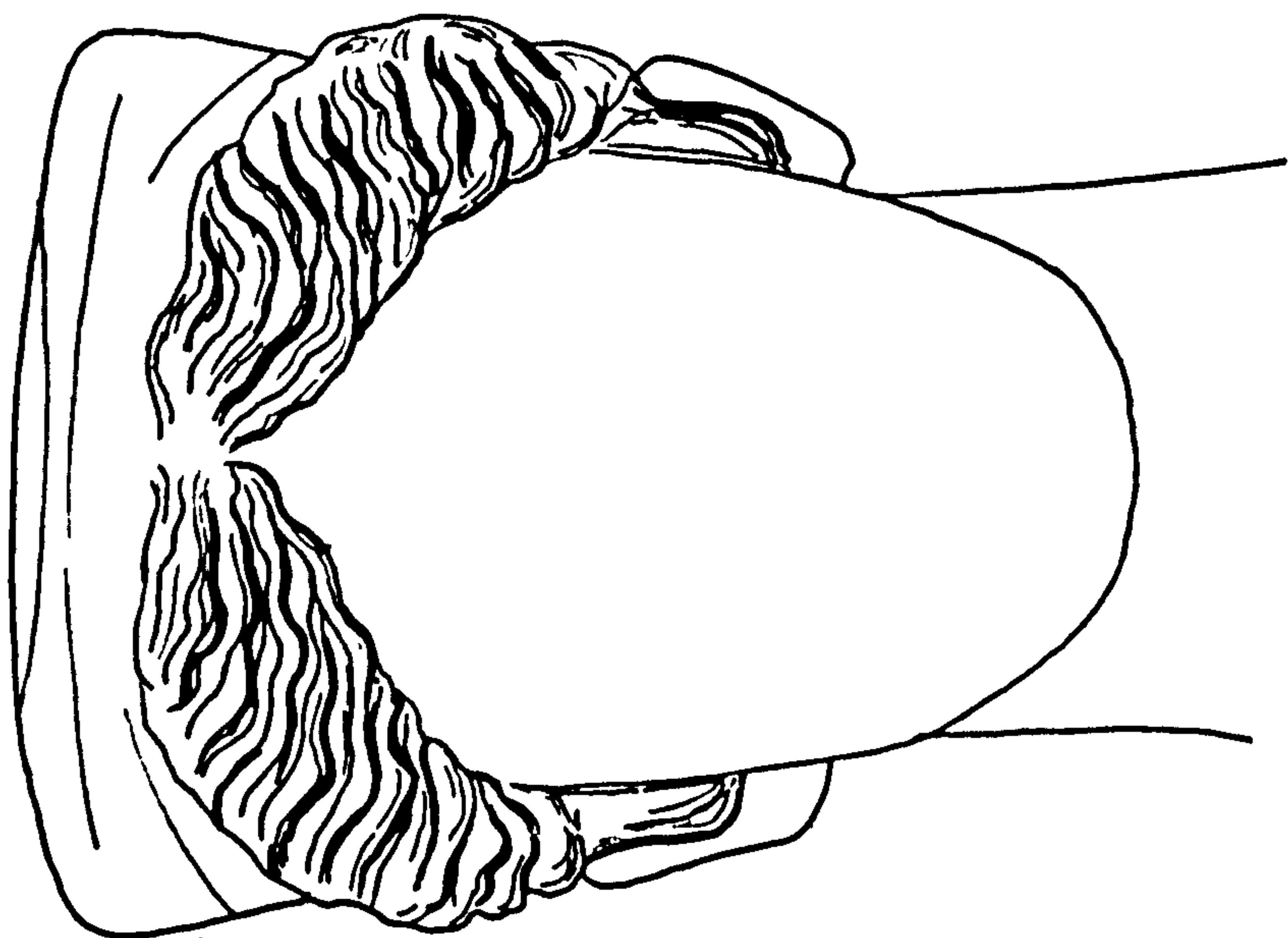
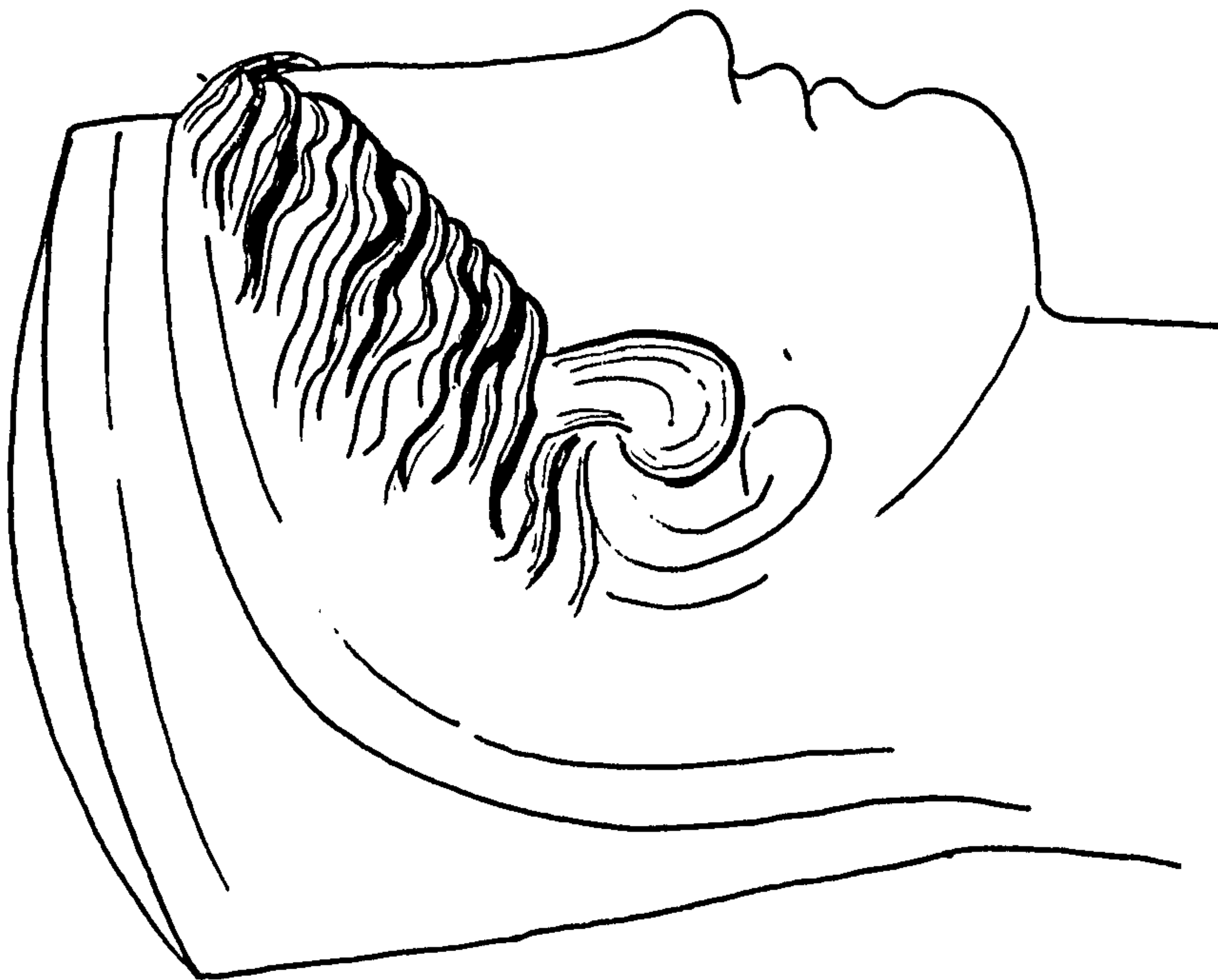


D.X: F4c; F4e

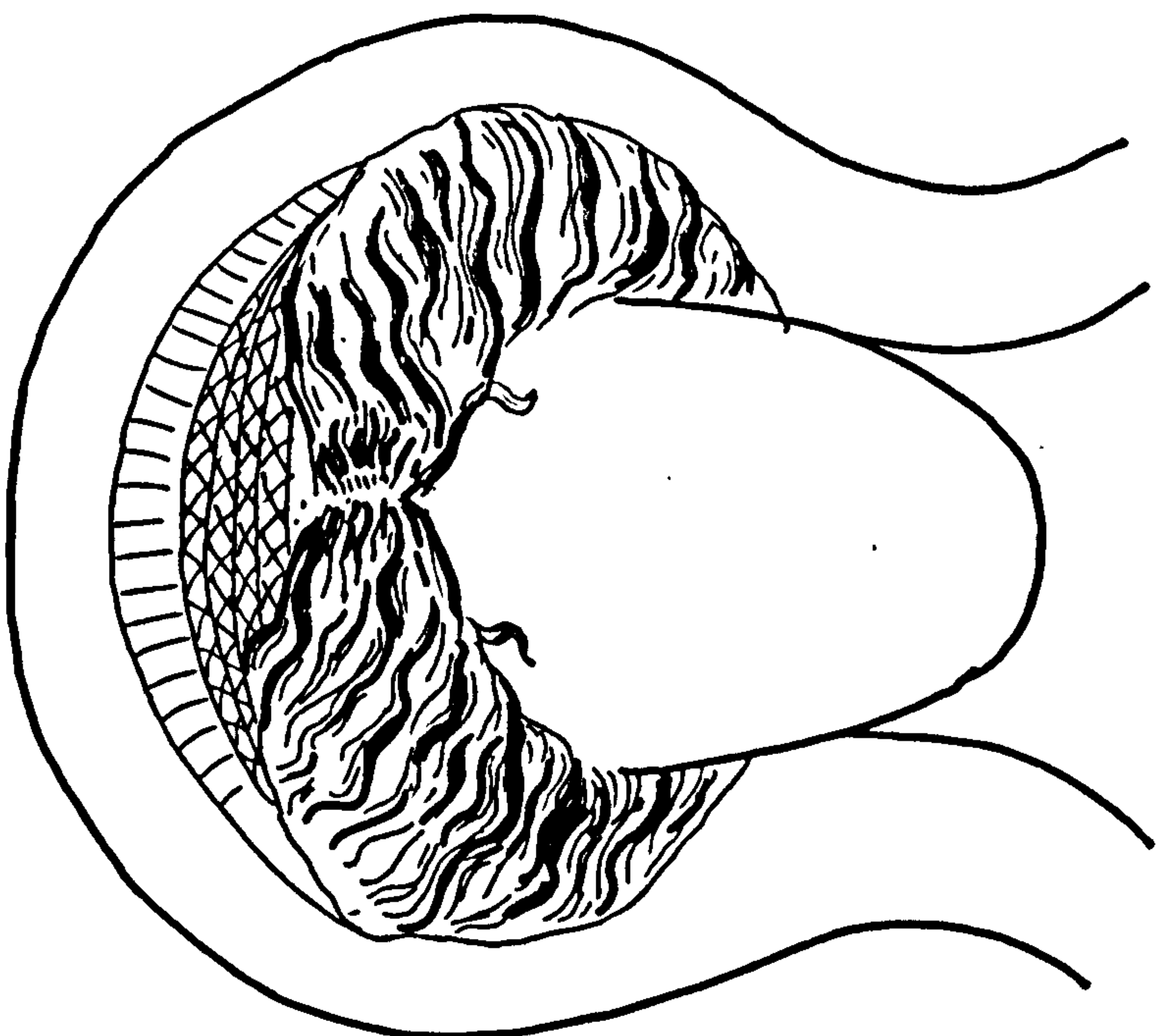
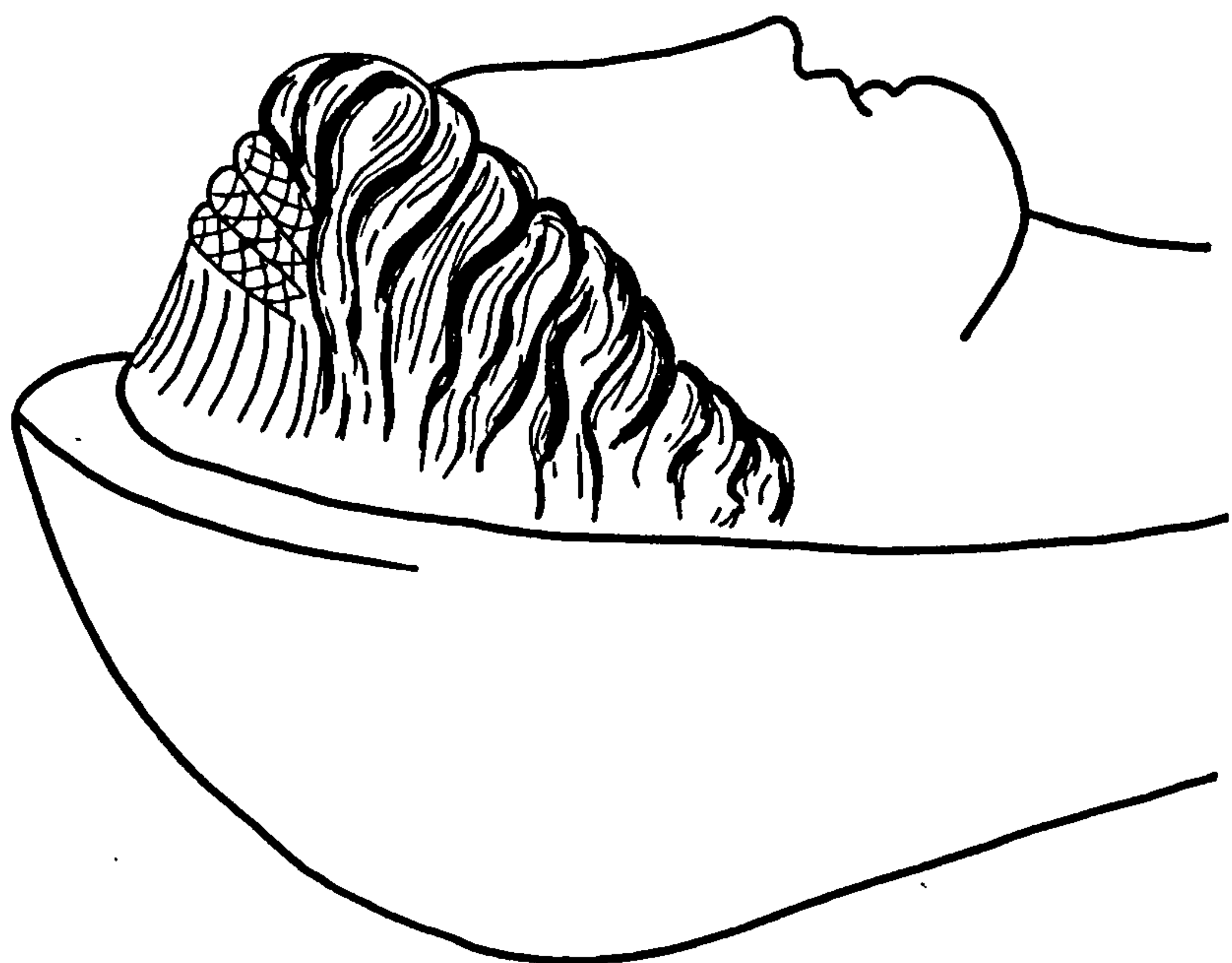




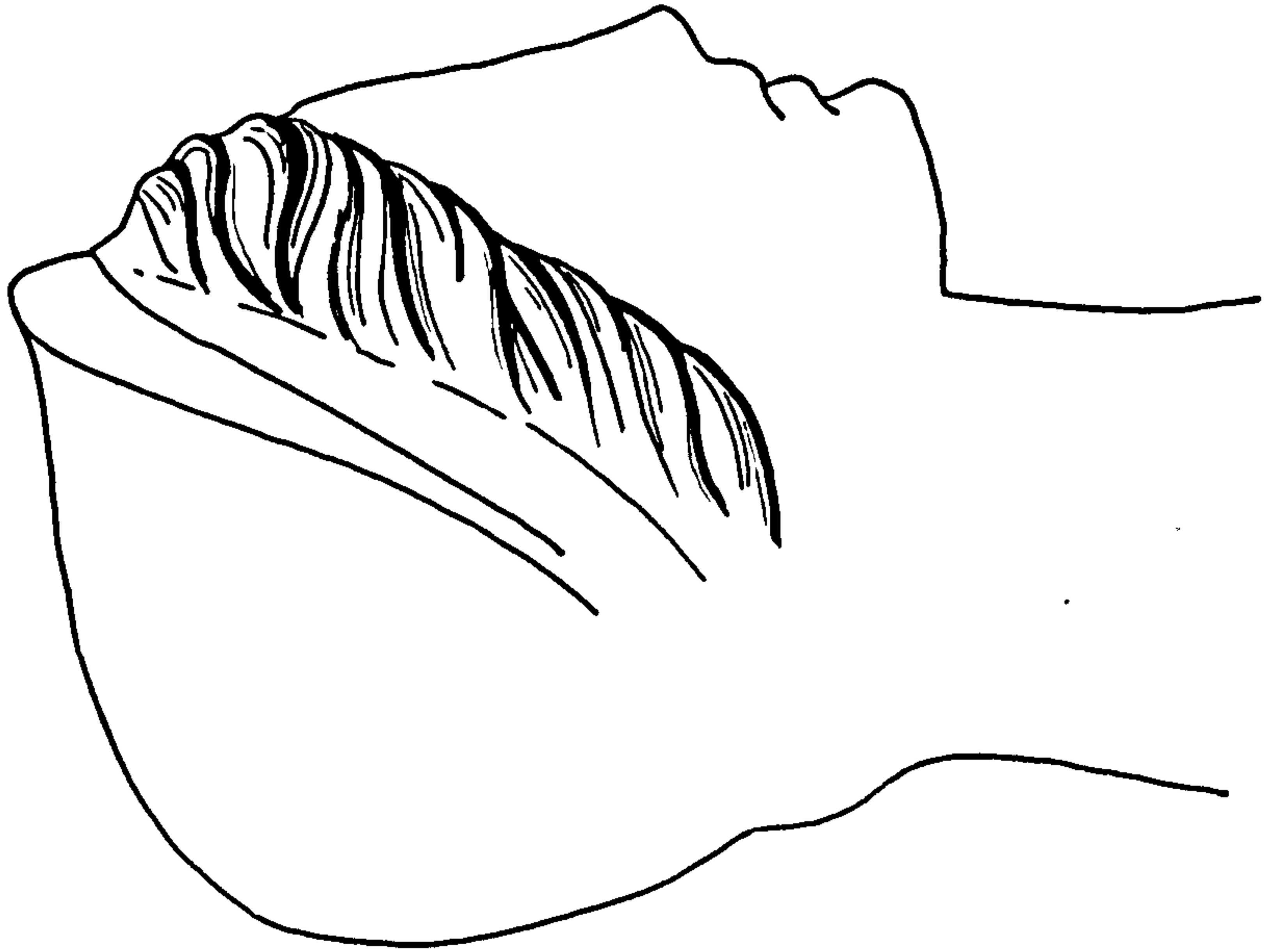
D.XI: F4fl



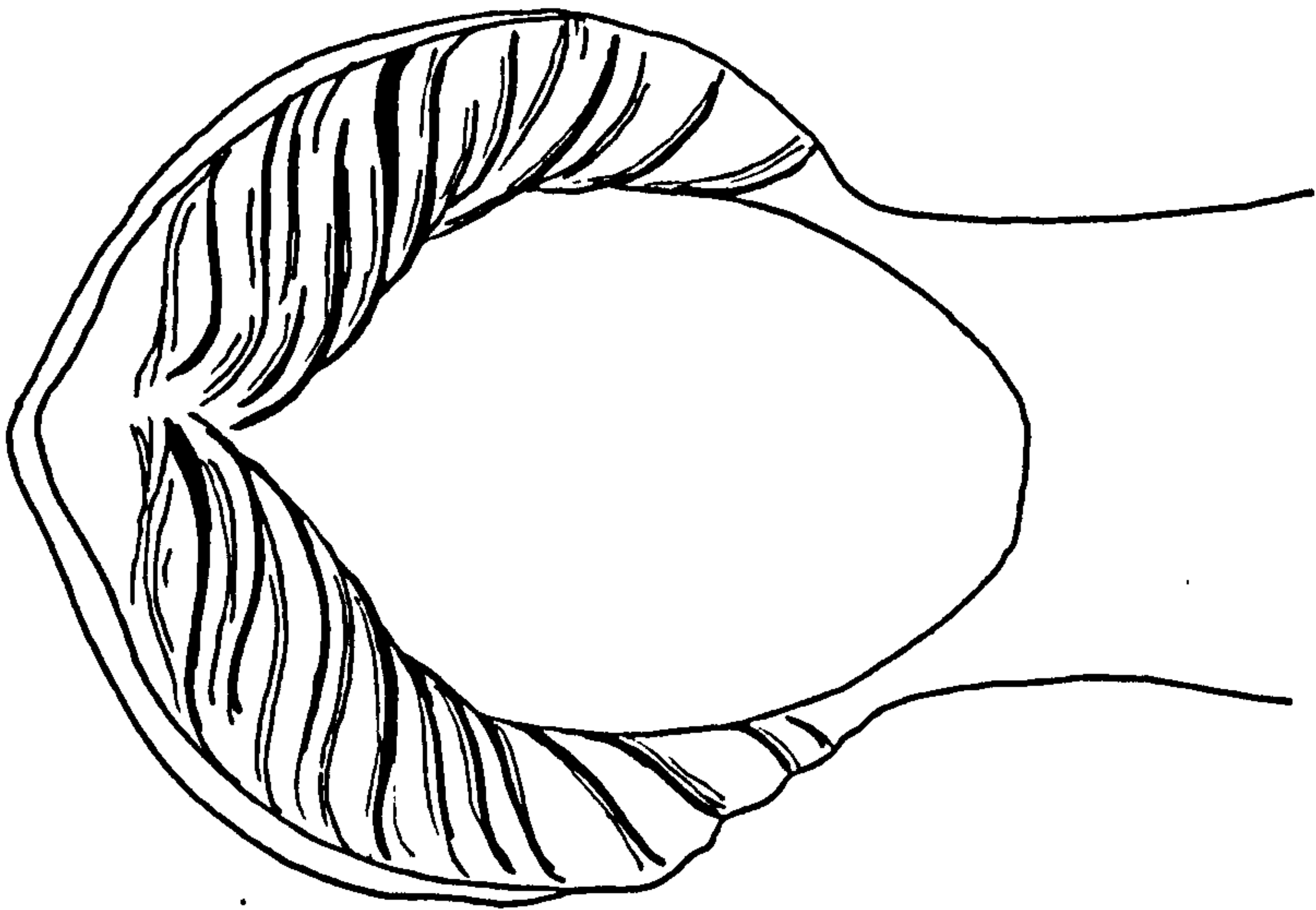
D.XII: F1b

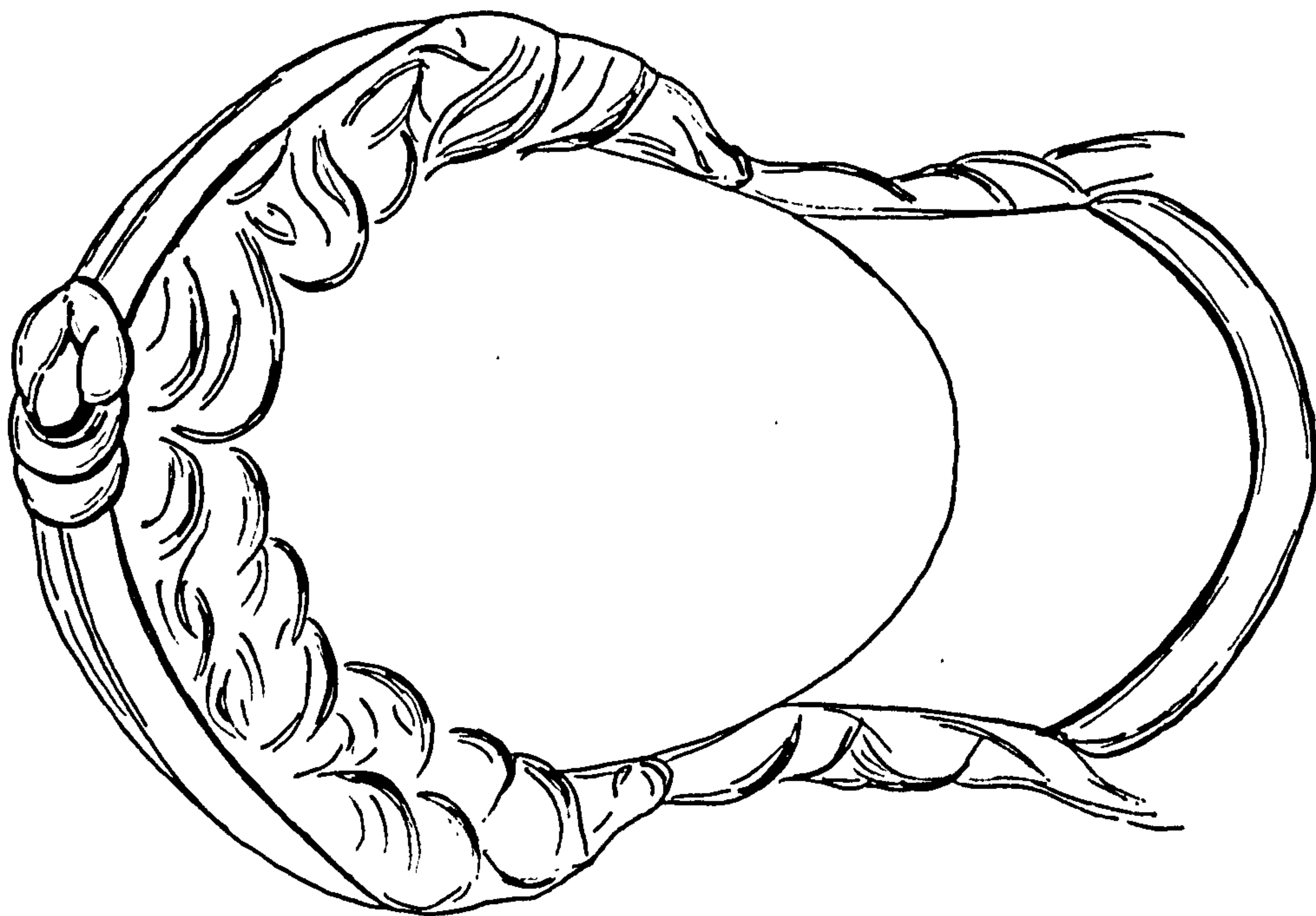


D.XIII: F2II

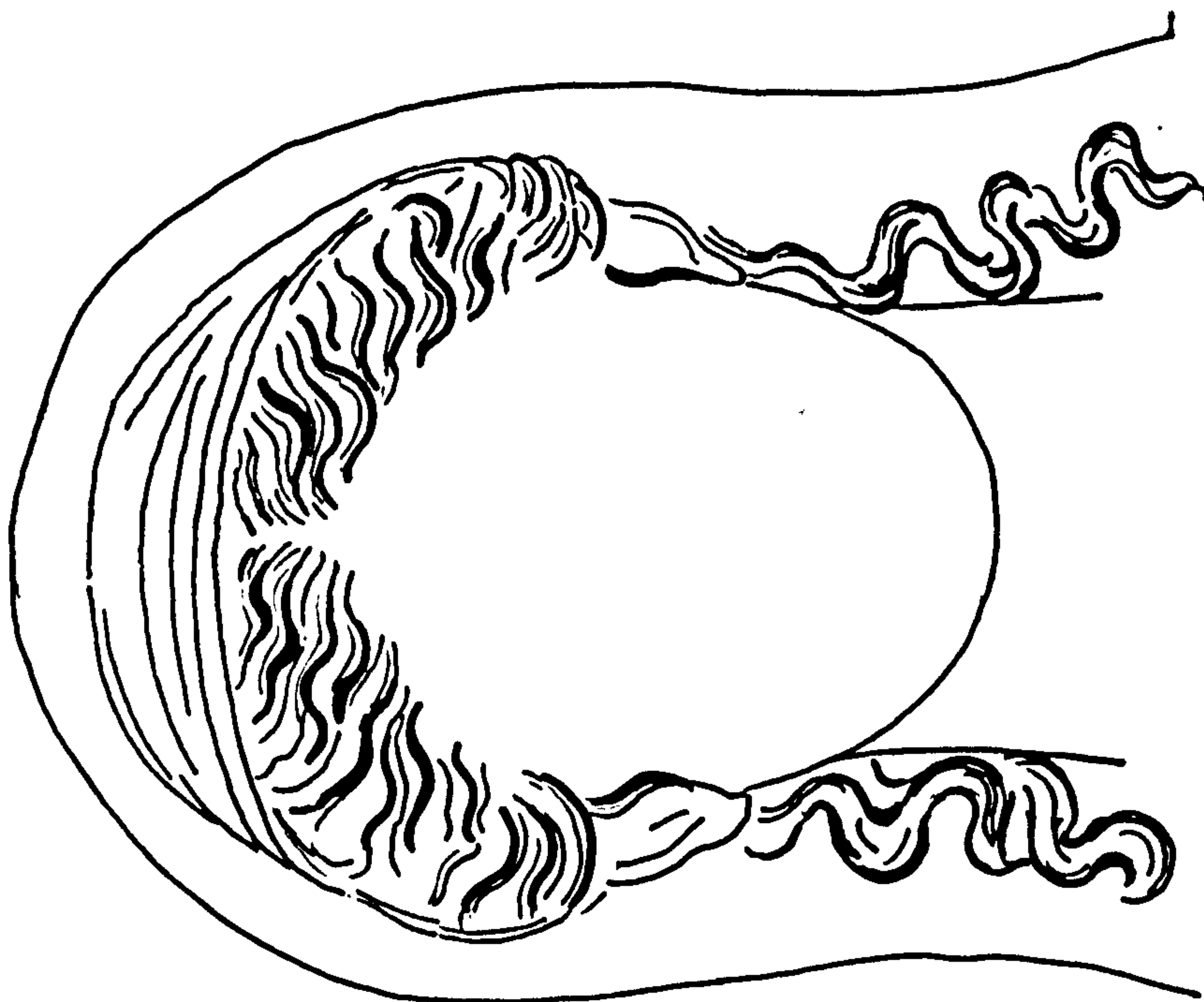


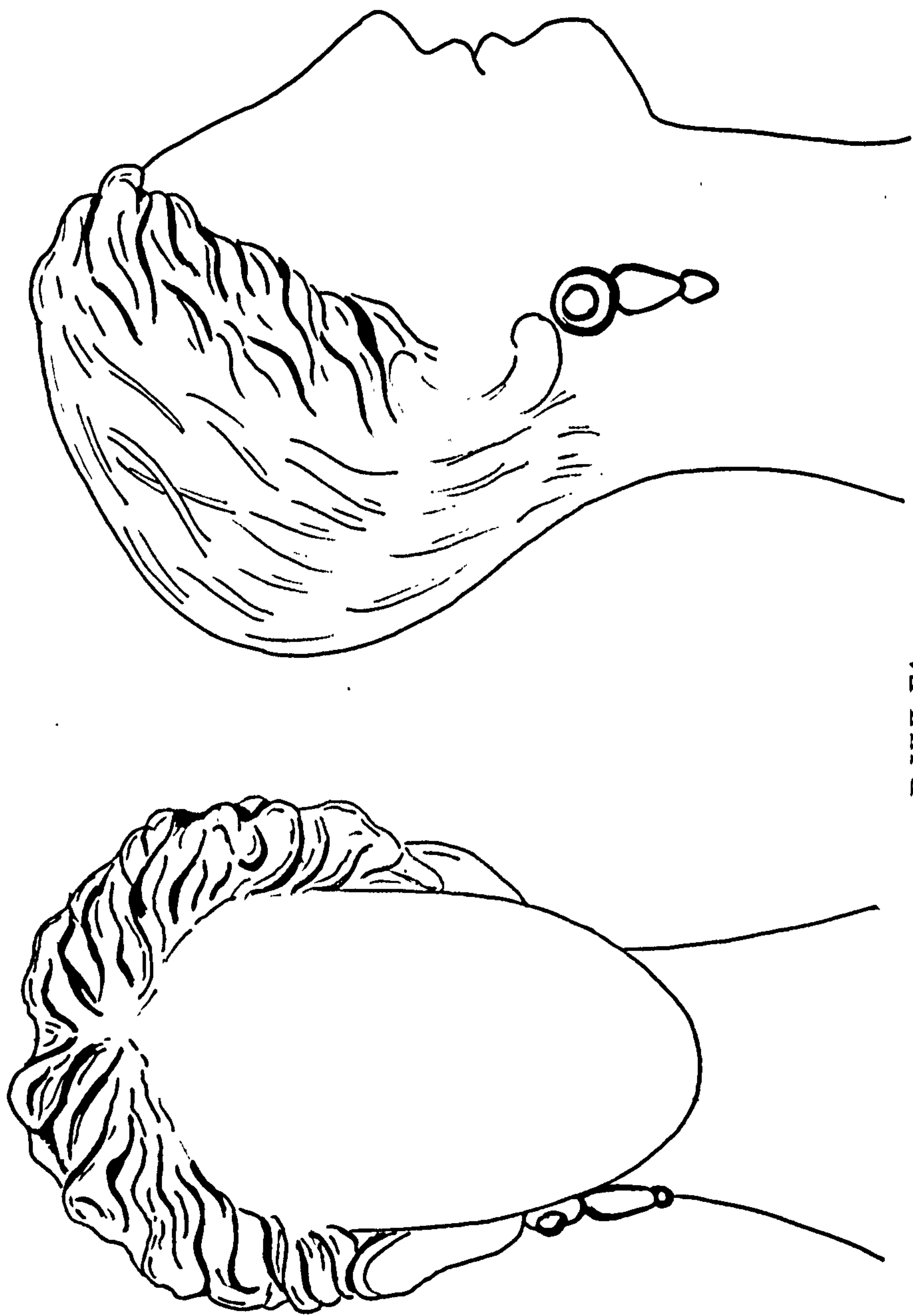
D.XIV: F3aII



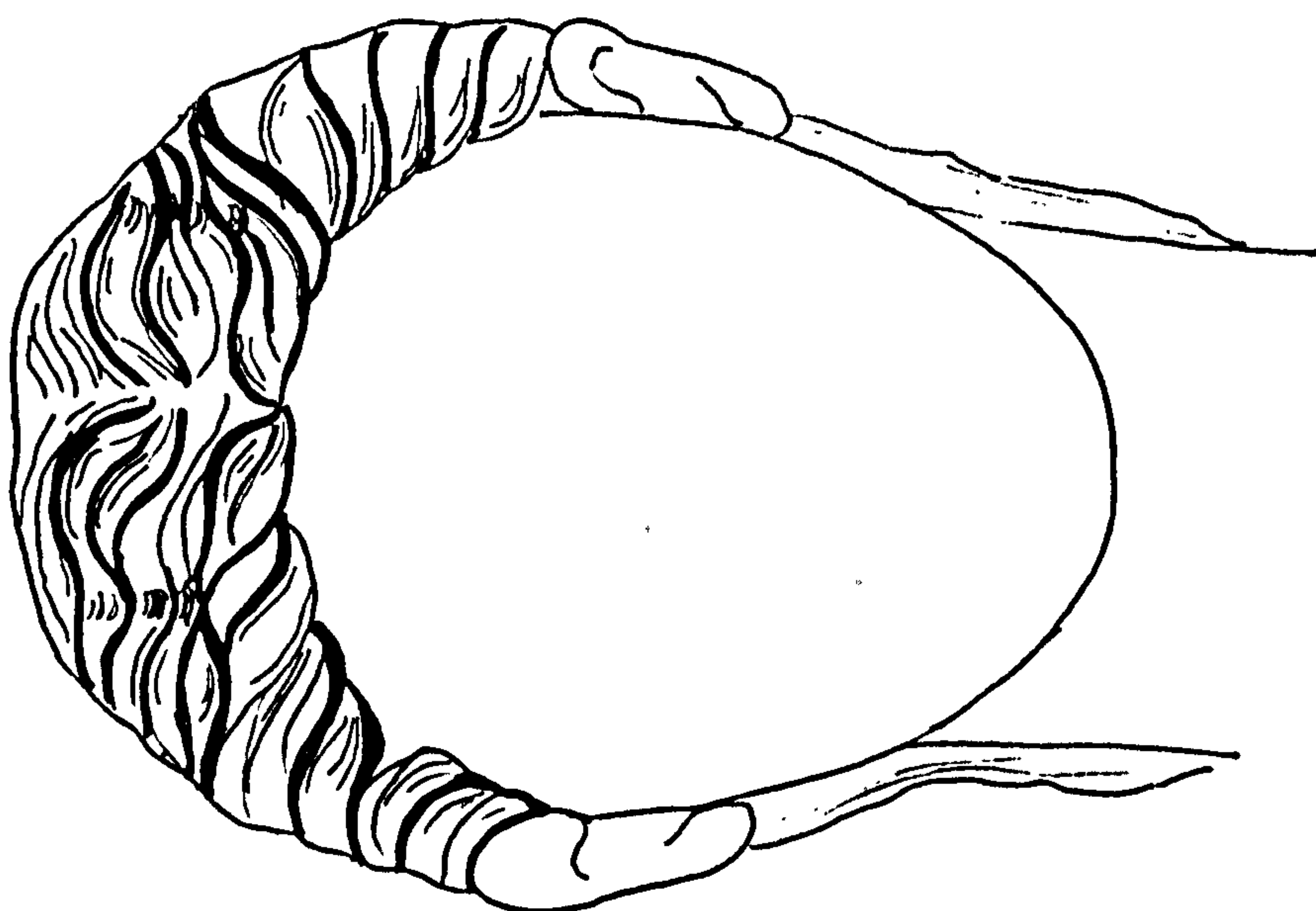
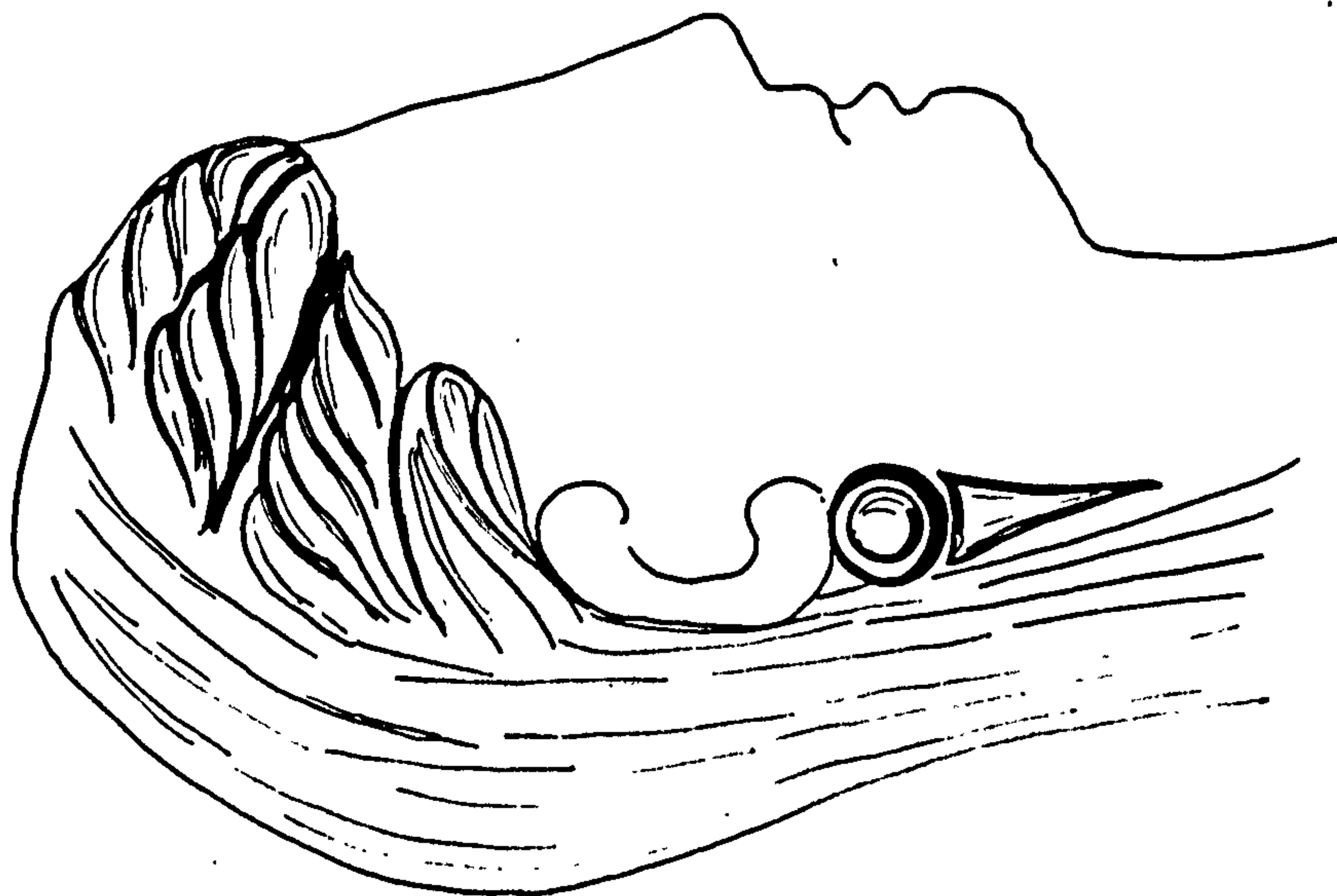


D.XV: F4a; F3c





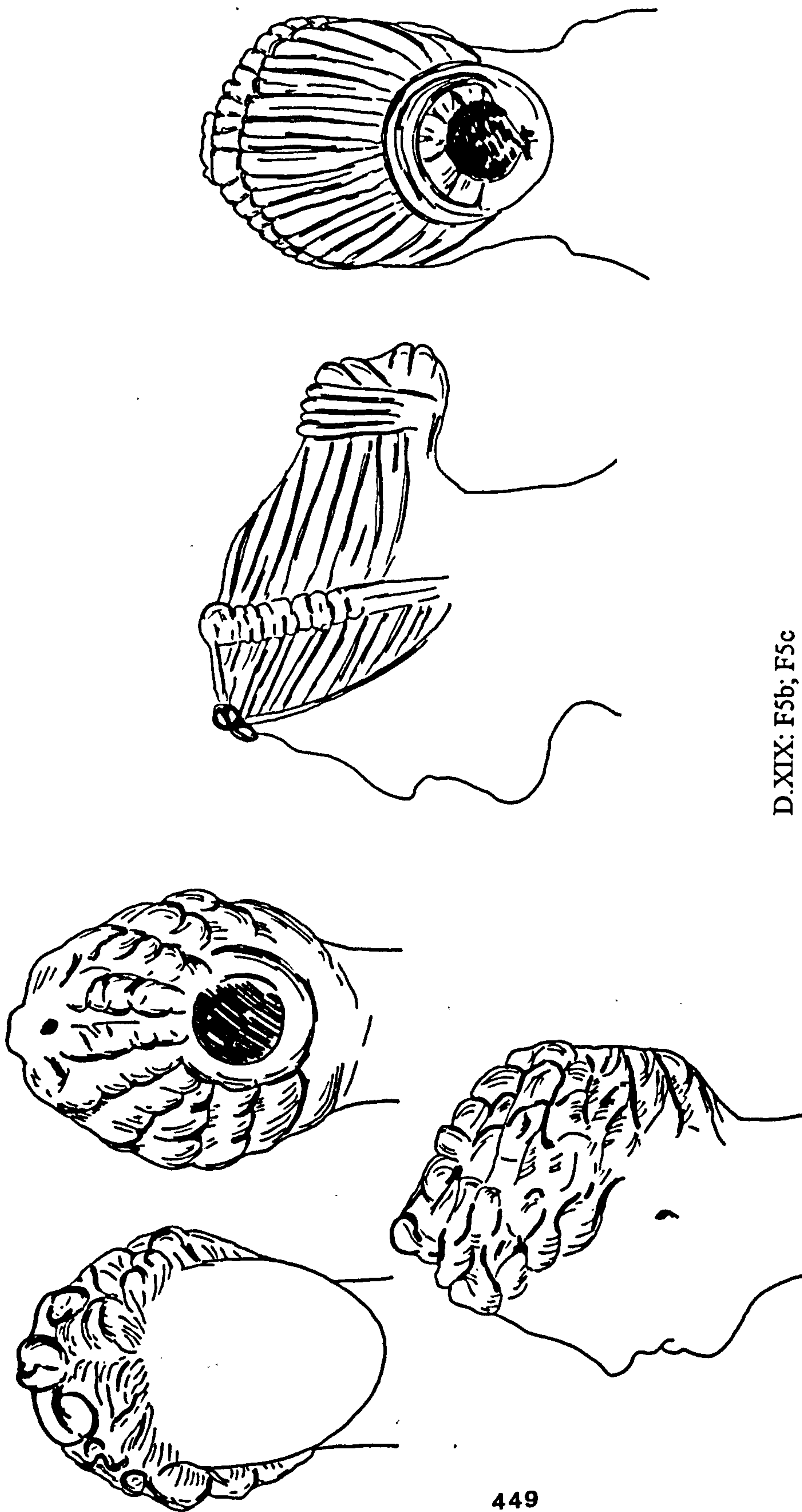
D.XVI: F4m



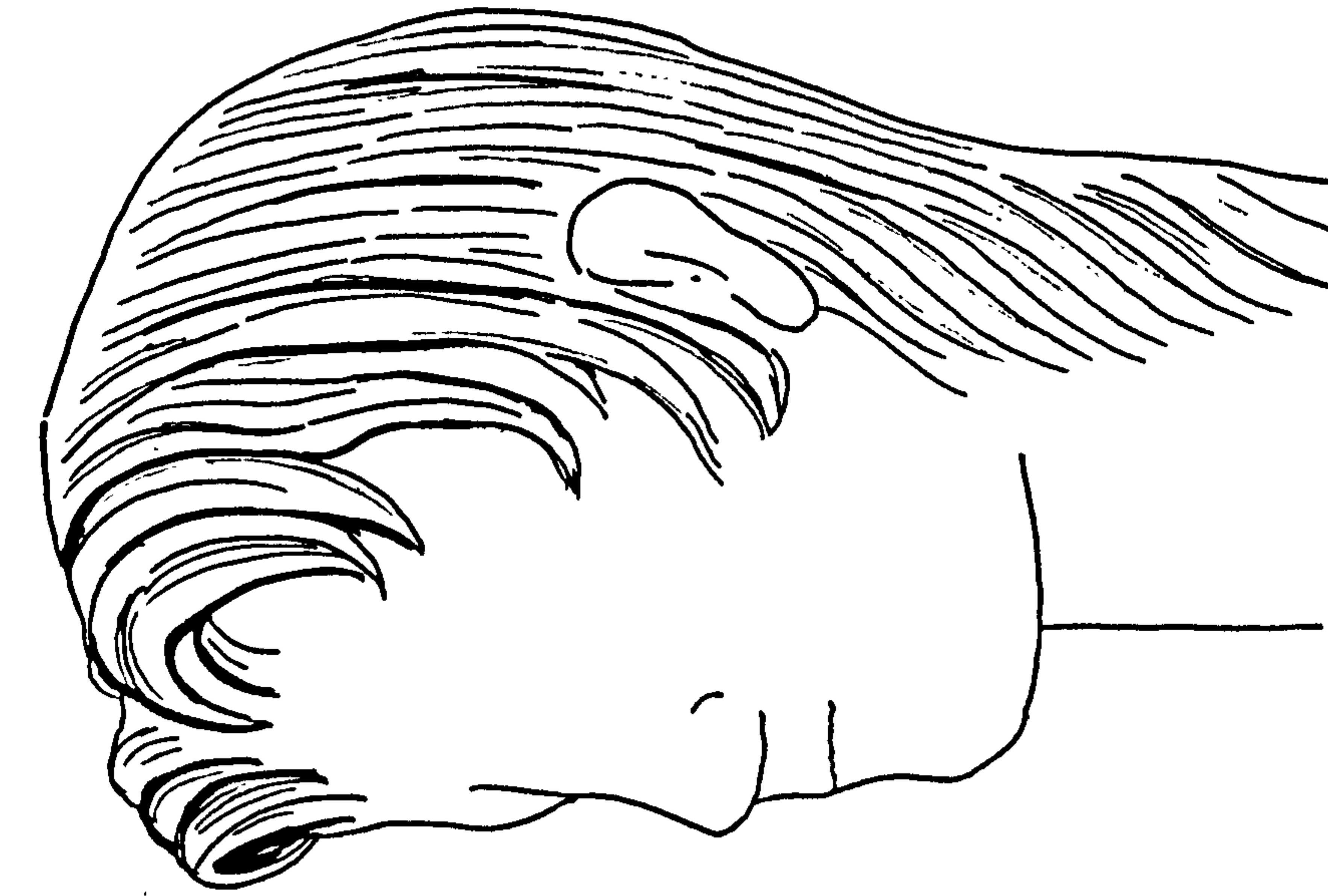
D. XVII: F4I



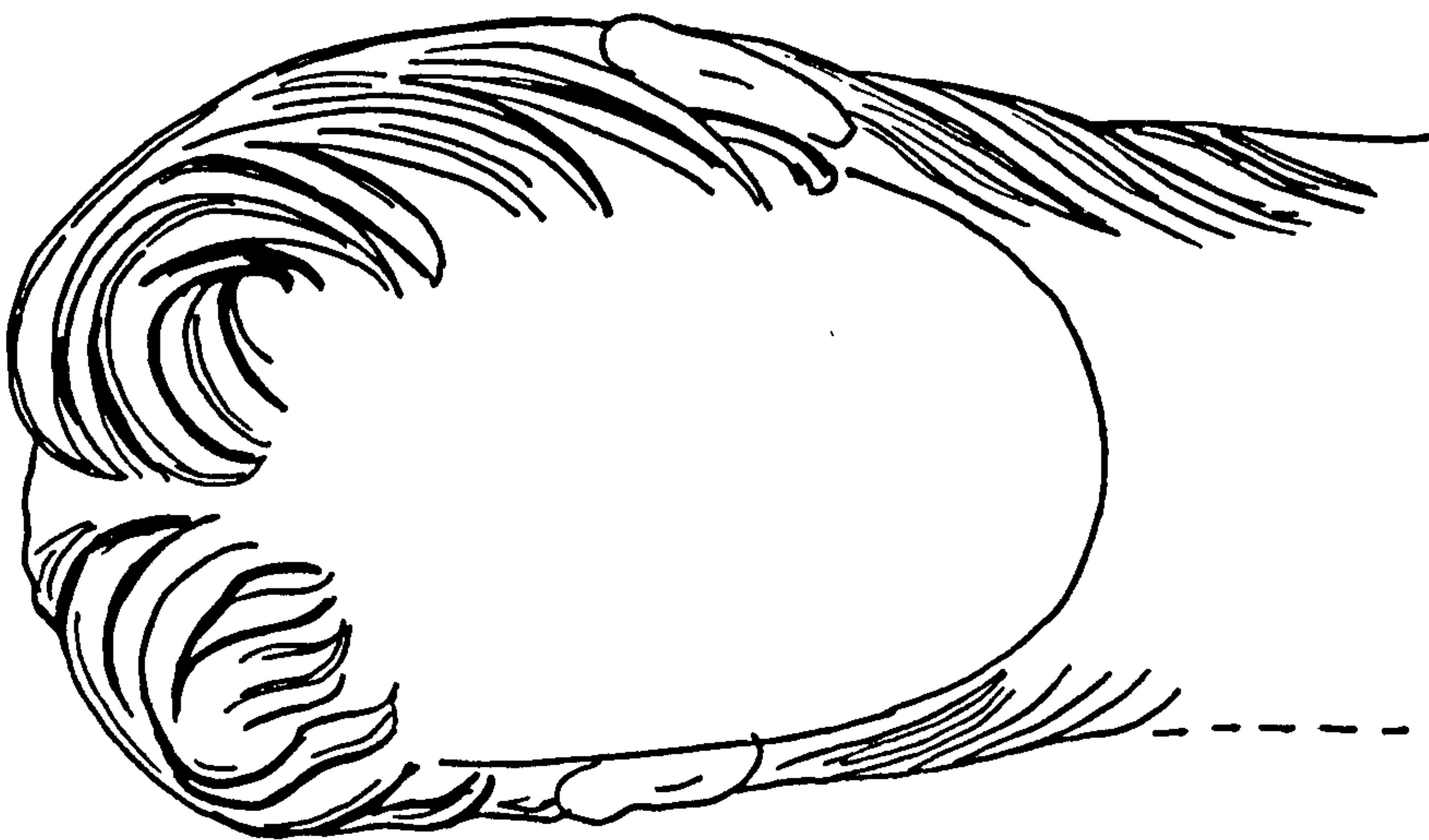
D.XVIII: F5a

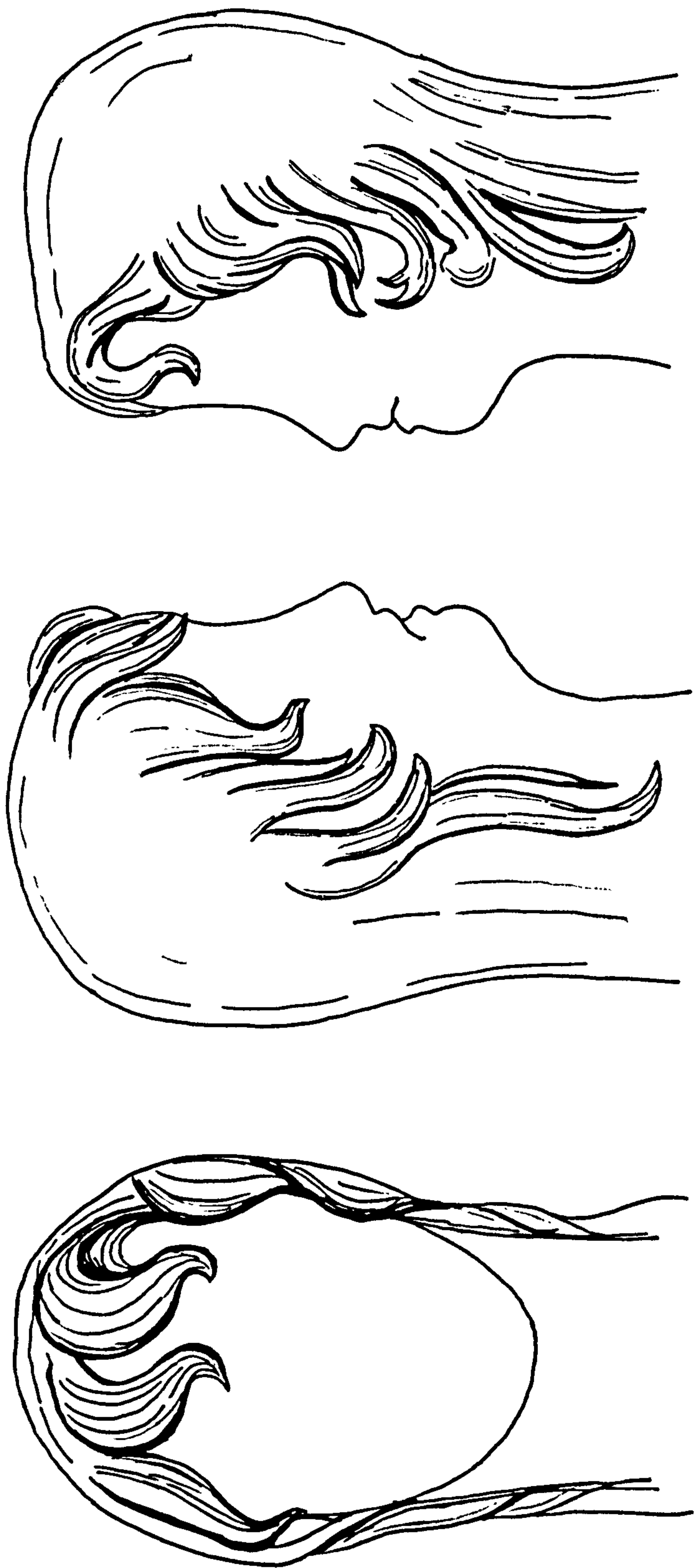


D.XIX: F5b; F5c



D:XX: F6bI



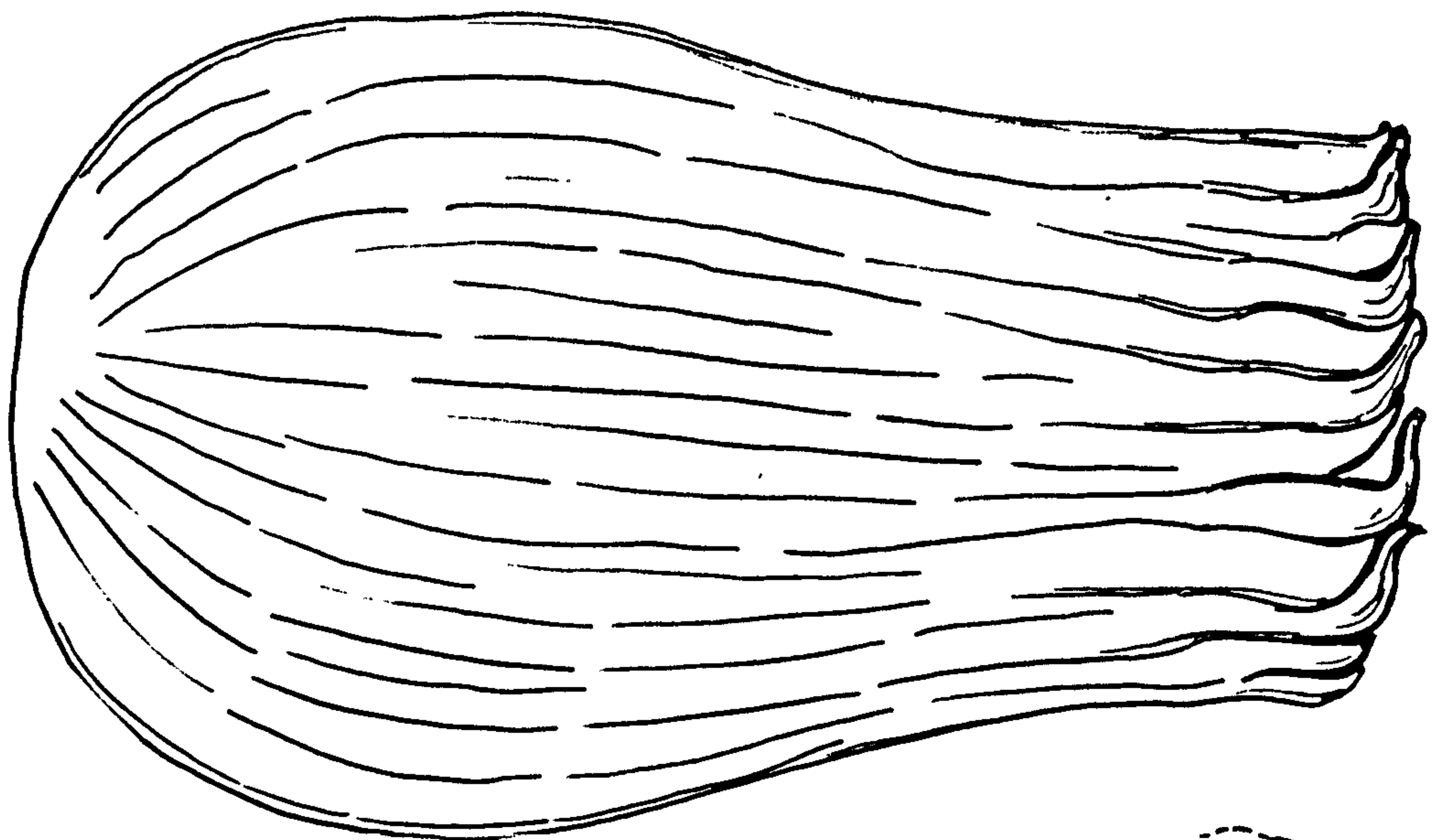


D.XXI: F6aII

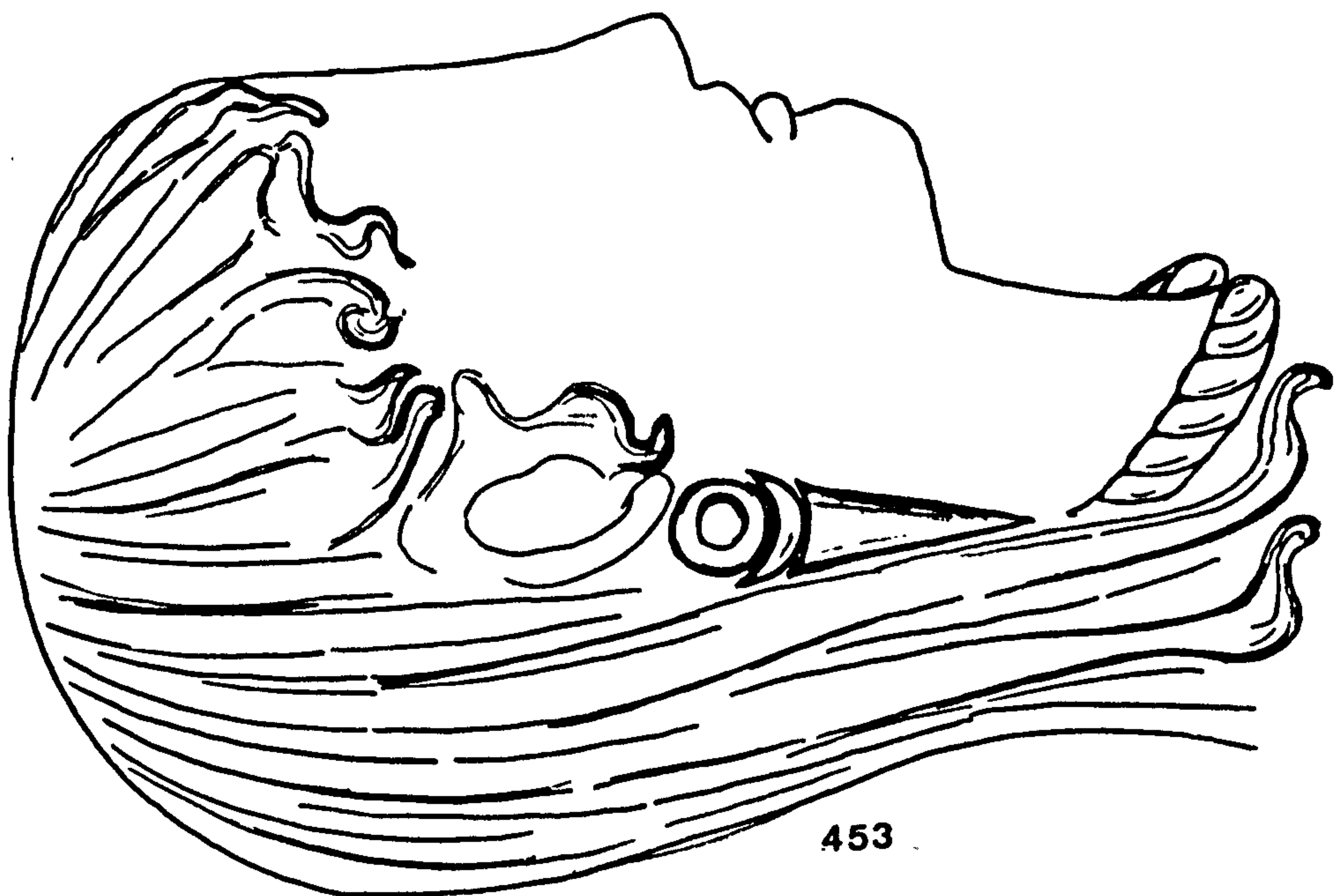


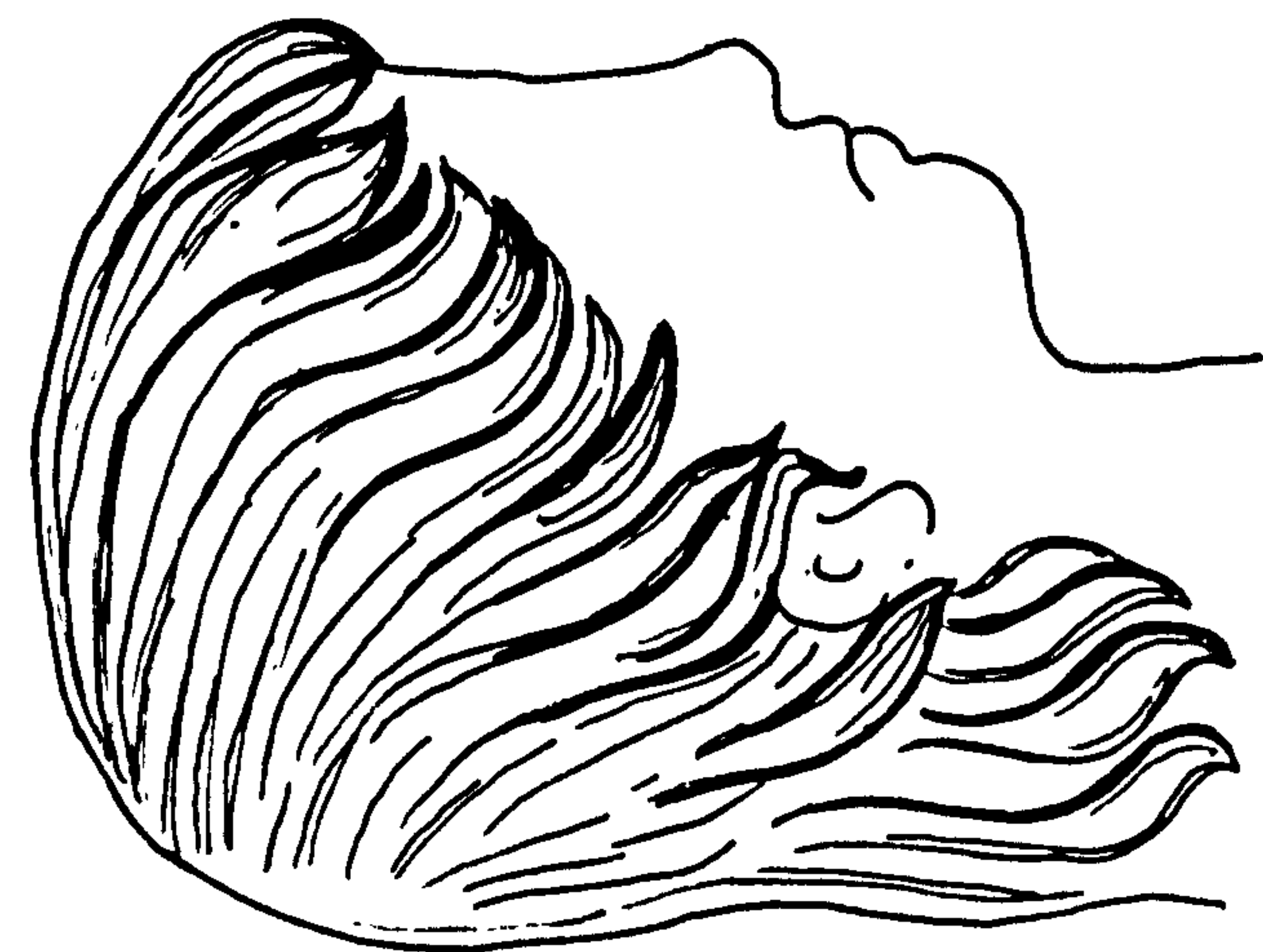
D:XXII: F6bII



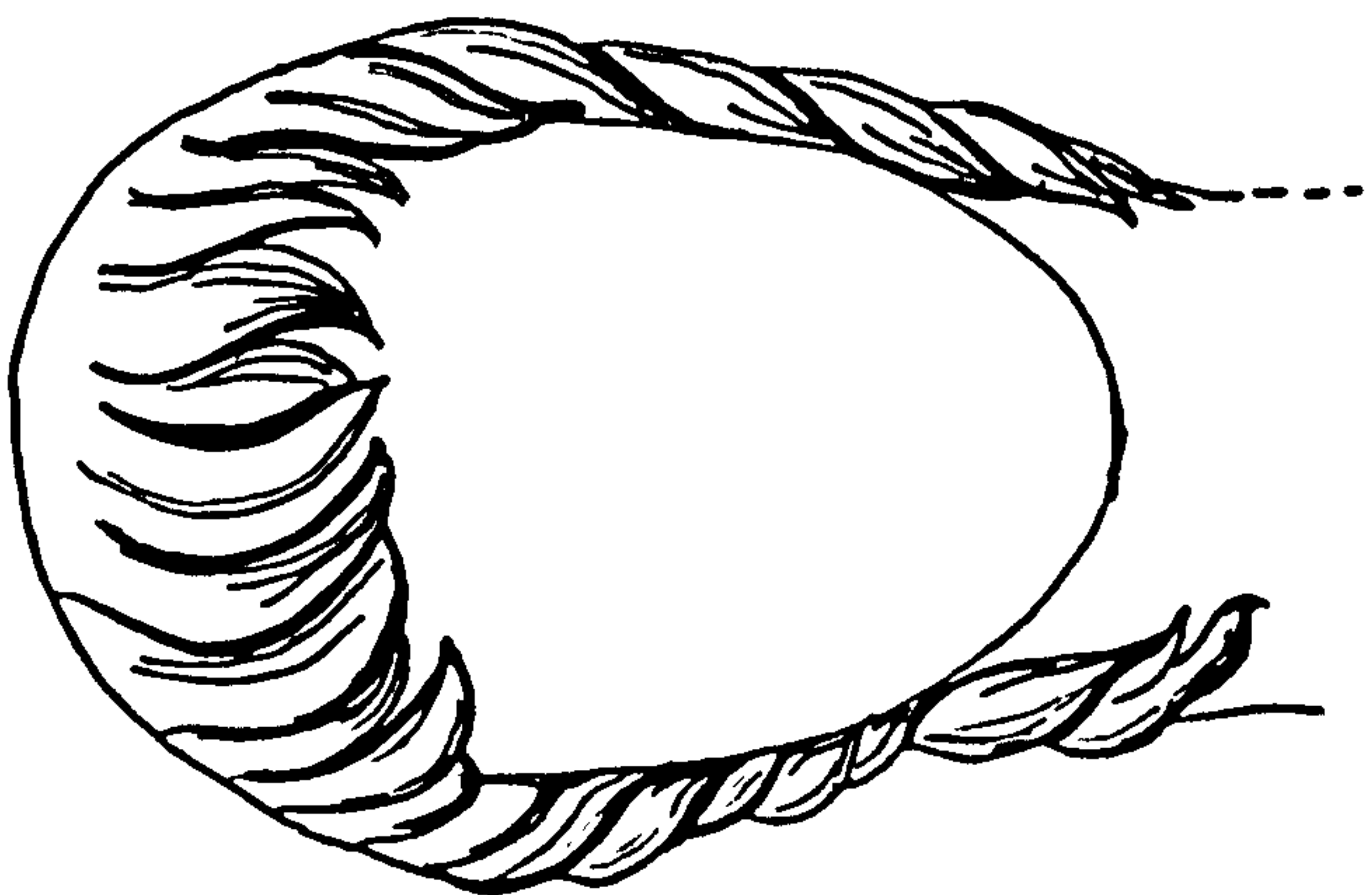


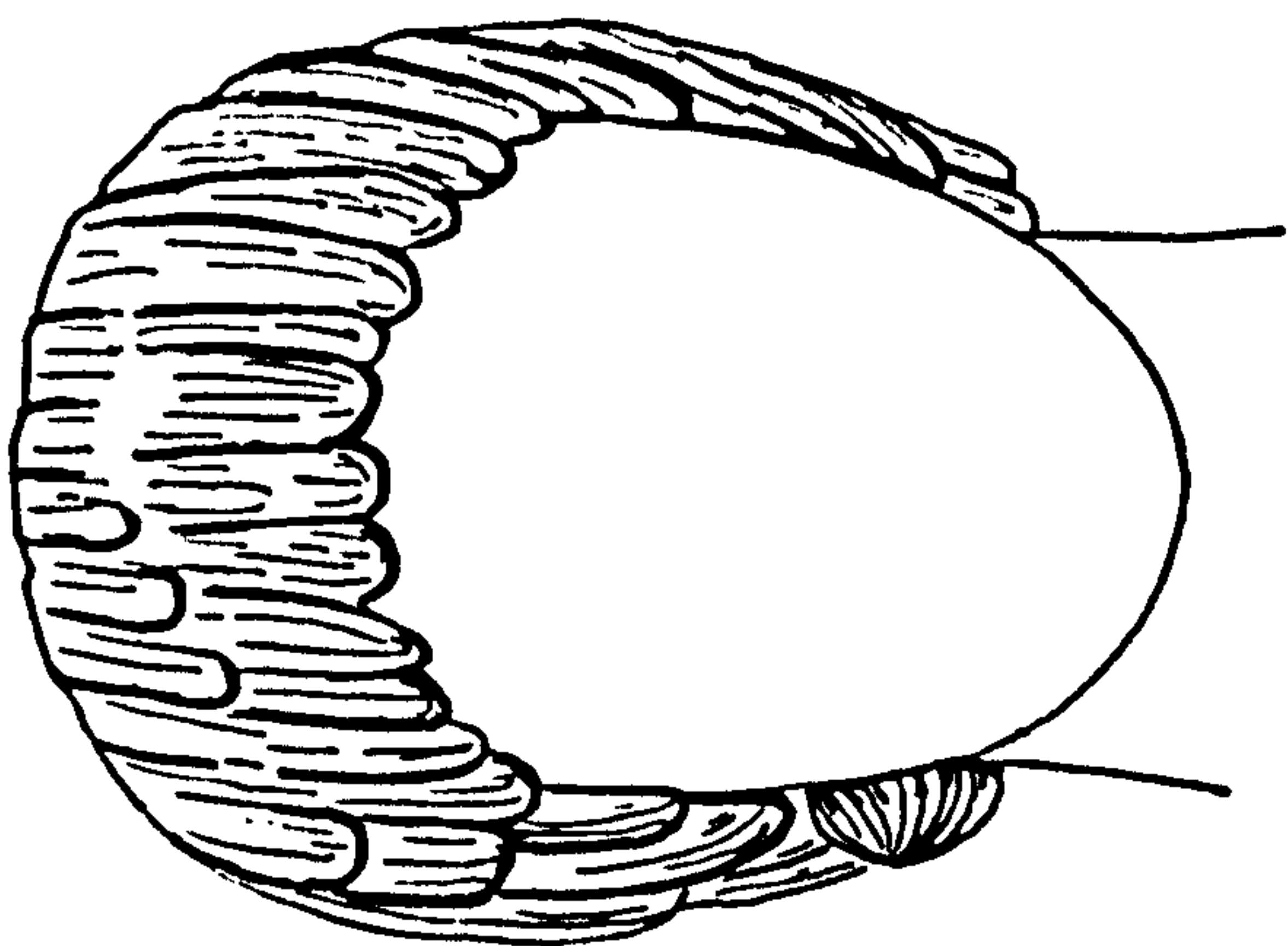
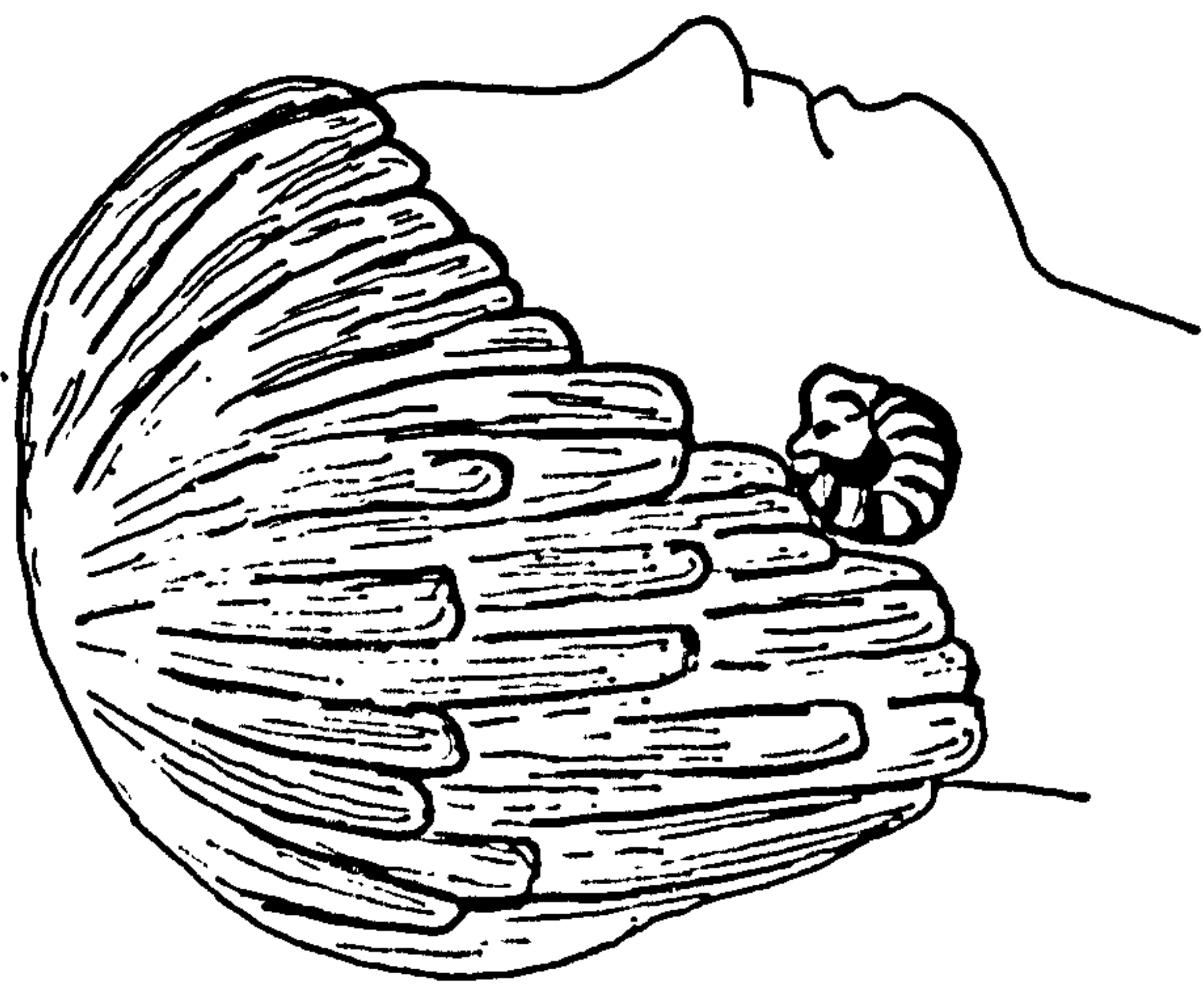
D.XXIII: F6aI



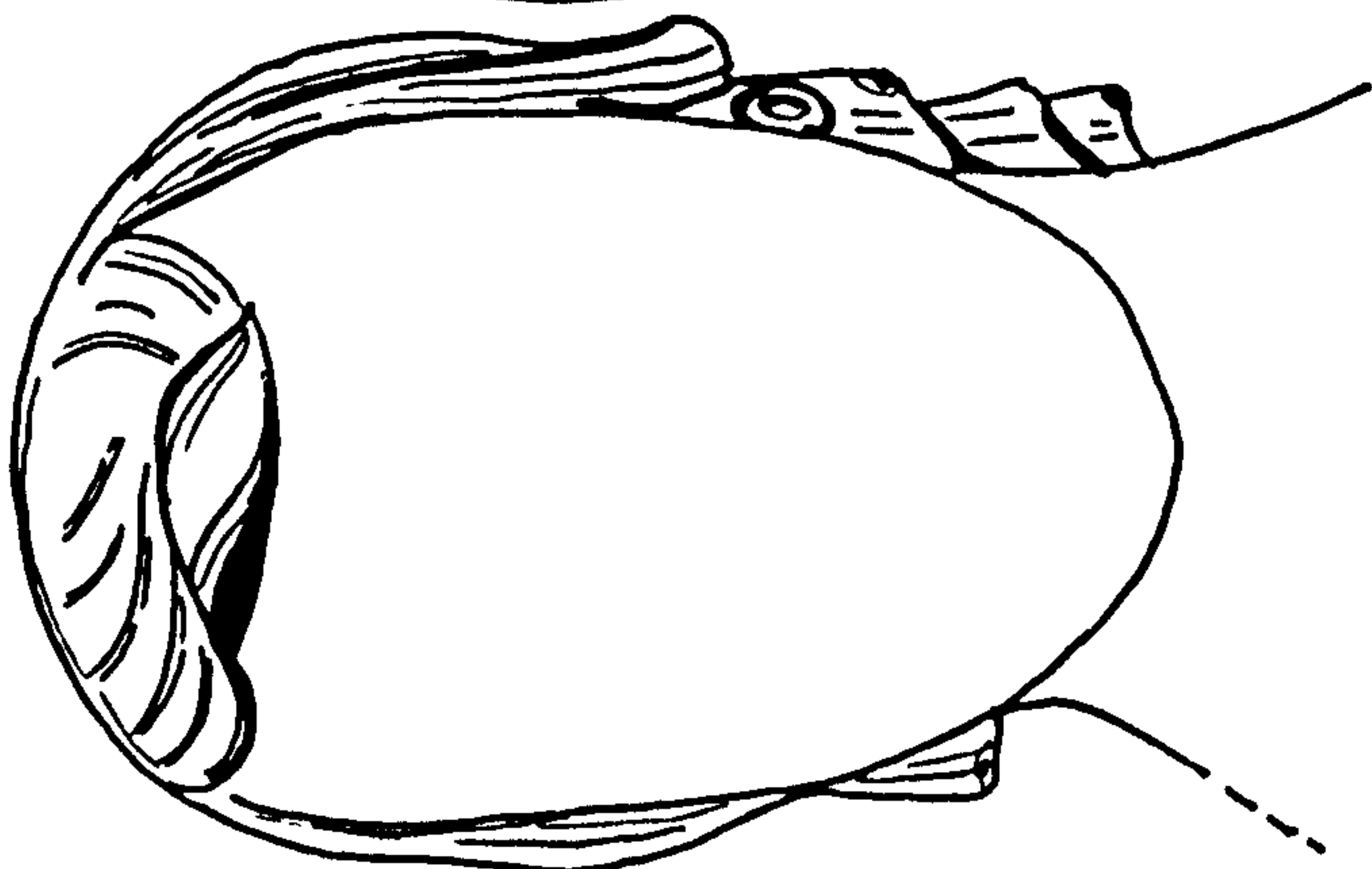
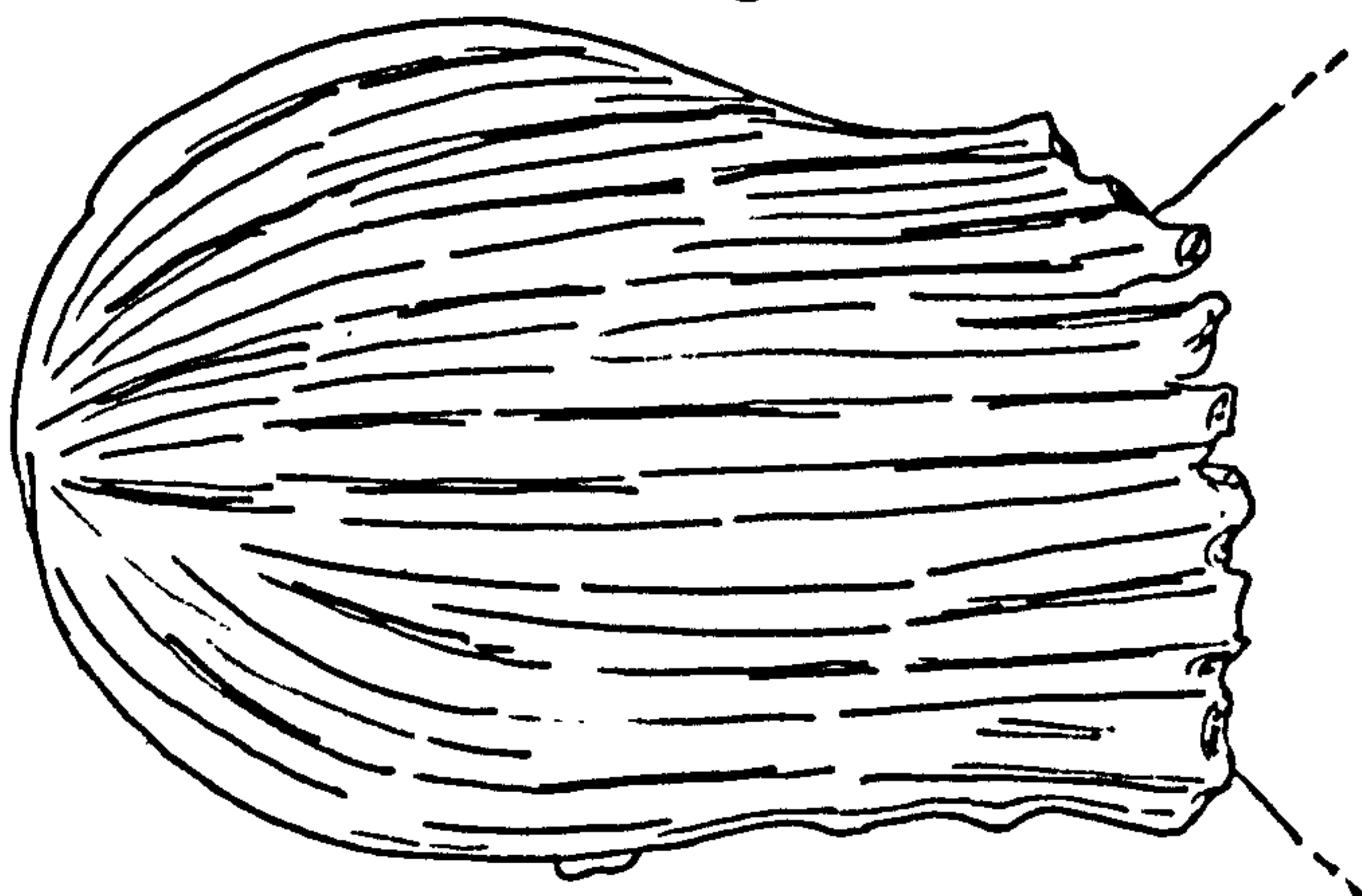
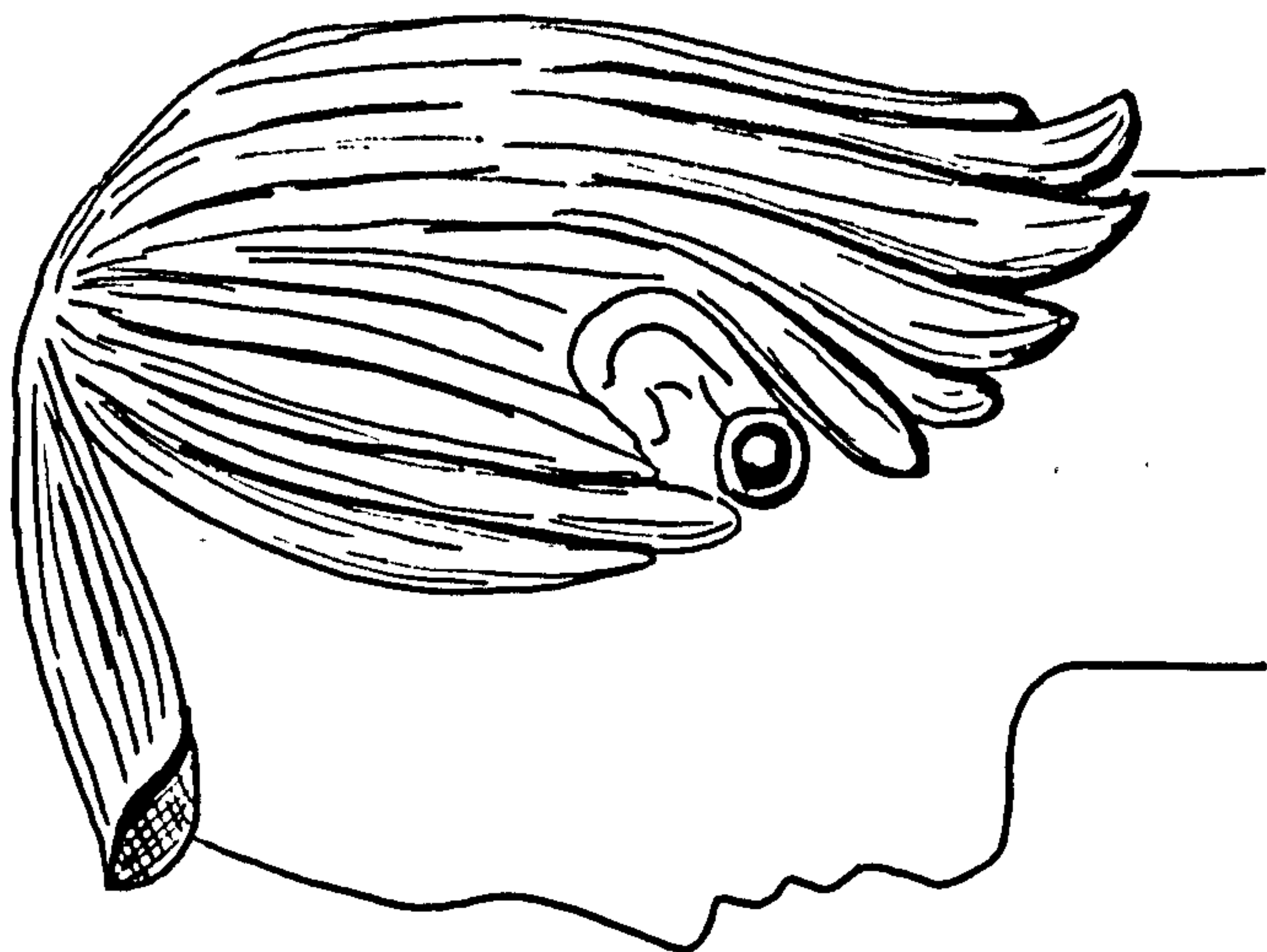


D.XXIV: F6c





D.XXV: F7a



D.XXVI: F7b